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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

TITHES AND BEQUESTS.

OUR reply to the *Church Intelligencer* last week had scarcely seen the light, before we found new work cut out for us by our ecclesiastical opponent. Two articles, both given in our selections from the press, have been considerably devoted to our especial edification. We cannot promise to keep pace with so lively and vigorous an adversary if he intends to proceed as he starts. We can hardly afford to double shot our guns. By way of compensation, however, we shall not fire into the air, but by the precision of our aim try to make every shot tell.

The second, in order, of these articles needs no reply. We give our contemporary the full benefit of his smartness. We offered him a hint or two of advice—he has returned the compliment. Let the thing pass for what it is worth. We have only one remark to make upon it—and that is, that if the *Church Intelligencer* really wishes its labours to be "conducive to the cause of truth and godliness in the land," it must write in the spirit of both. Deliberate perversions of an adversary's meaning, such as that which displays itself in the last paragraph of the piece referred to, are weapons which christianity repudiates, and which serve only to wound the hands of those who resort to them. The comment in this case is quite harmless in consequence of the appearance of the text. The words quoted from the *Nonconformist* will to every reader of common sense give the lie to the meaning subsequently thrust upon them. Falsehood and folly here go hand in hand. It is not simply a bad thing, but a bad thing badly done.

Our reply to the other and more serious article will be very brief. The substance of our opponent's somewhat extended observations may be compressed into a few words—it charges dissenters with the inconsistency of seeking and receiving that state support which in principle they condemn, and cites the language of "Fiat Justitia" in corroboration of the charge.

We hand over all such inconsistent dissenters to the tender mercies of the *Church Intelligencer*. He has our full and hearty leave to ferret out, and expose to the light of day all such compromises of principle. We will even aid him in his work, believing that he will do "the state some service." In proof of our sincerity we mention a more glaring departure from professed principles by some of the dissenting body, than any with which he has taunted them—their acceptance of the *regium donum*. Let not the *Church Intelligencer* mistake the real character and designs of the *Nonconformist*. We do not aim to represent dissenters but dissent. We attach ourselves to principles not to men. We contend for truth not for a party. We have taken up our position on the soundness and reasonableness of non-alliance principles, not upon the immaculate consistency of those who profess allegiance to them. The most pointed rebukes aimed at unsound dissenters tell nowise against us. They may lay open human frailty, but they do not reach, and consequently cannot destroy a scriptural truth. We fairly stated that the separation for which we contended included "the repeal of all statutes or portions of statutes which empower the civil magistrate to wield his authority in support of any religious opinions whatever," and if, in carrying out the idea in practice, dissenters and dissenting ministers would have to yield up privileges which they now enjoy apart from the rest of the community, so much the better. For ourselves we should rejoice to put an authoritative end to their inconsistencies.

It will save a vast deal of trouble to the *Intelligencer* if thus early in the discussion, we untwist his tangled thoughts on other matters to which frequent reference must necessarily be made. It will at once furnish him and his readers an answer to every material objection he has yet offered to our scheme, and prevent him, in future from perpetrating many a blunder. For without intending the slightest discourtesy, we may affirm, that even the little appearance of force which his arguments display, must be ascribed to the unhesitating air with which he confounds things which differ.

1. It may be very right for the state to protect what it may be very wrong for the state to support. Governments are instituted for the protection of our rights—of which, the most valuable is, liberty to worship God according to our conscience. Thus much the state is bound to secure to all its subjects; and, if the meetings of dissenters for this sacred purpose be disturbed by lawless violence, as citizens, they do right in claiming the interposition of the magis-

trate. This is a very different matter from asking state support. Had our opponent seen the distinction, he might have spared himself the pains of putting forward the case of Lady Hewley's charity. The wisdom of disputing before civil tribunals respecting the legal application of endowments for religious purposes, may be open to a question: but the inconsistency of the man who repudiates the support of his faith by public money compulsorily exacted, and who at the same time claims the assistance of the state in what appears to him to be the proper appropriation of funds voluntarily bequeathed, must be clearly pointed out before it can be fitly designated by the epithet "preposterous."

2. Our opponent must learn to distinguish between "tithes" and "property bequeathed"—and when he speaks of property bequeathed to the Romish church, (in almost all cases "expiatory donations from wealthy sinners, bestowed expressly for the purpose of obtaining the church's carminative to soothe the irritability of a feverish conscience," or "property made over to priests in exchange for their intercessory influence in favour of souls in purgatory") he is hardly warranted in saying that it was bequeathed "for the express purpose of promulgating the doctrines of the book of common prayer," by which that same Romish church is denounced as anti-christ. If such mystifications of plain truth will pass with his readers, it must be in consequence of their entire ignorance on such subjects—but, really, he must not attempt to palm off upon us as genuine argument, stuff like this. What was given to the Romish church certainly was not given "for the express purpose" of spreading the doctrines of the church which overthrew it.

Not more correct is it to speak of tithes as property bequeathed. Even were history silent on this head, the uniformity and universality of this tax upon produce—it being always a tenth, and imposed in every parish, operating as well upon recent inclosures of waste lands as upon those of old under cultivation—might suffice to convince us that in the proper sense of the term, taxes are not a bequest but a state grant. And what the nature of the thing suggests, history confirms—the power of seizing a tenth of the produce of the soil, having been granted by Offa to the priests of Hadrian I., for the avowed object of expiating a foul and villainous murder committed on his rival in the race of usurpation. Property specially devoted to God! Why, if we are compelled to rip up the history of church property, how it came into the hands of the clergy, and how it has been dealt with since it got there, we will be bound to present from authentic sources a picture of rapacity, cruelty, cunning, and impiety, such as no other single subject can furnish. Is it possible for the clergy to look at the statute of *mortmain* and not blush to speak of church funds as bequeathed by the piety of saints for the advancement of Christianity? Was not the mass of ecclesiastical property wrung by clerical avarice, using the screw of superstition, from dying wretches whose lives had disgraced humanity, and whose ill-gotten wealth was at last the purchase money paid to the priesthood, to open the gates of heaven?

We have only further to remark on this subject, that the power of tithing the produce of the soil, given by Offa to the clergy, was bestowed by him in his usurped capacity, as the supreme civil magistrate, for the property thus invaded was not individually his own. He chose to affirm practically "*L'etat c'est moi*," and what the state unrighteously gave in trust in Offa's time, what it violently transferred backwards and forwards in Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth's time, it may justly and peacefully resume in our own time.

We have yet to set the *Church Intelligencer* right in reference to his use of the term "church"—but this we leave to a future number.

THE LATE FAST APPOINTED BY THE SCOTCH KIRK.

"DEARLY beloved brethren—Grace be unto you, and peace from God our father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. It has seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to invite and call all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers, to join with us in devoting to the solemn exercises of humiliation, of thanksgiving, and of prayer, a convenient day which, in virtue of the authority committed to us by our King and Head, we have set apart for that holy end."

Thus commences a pastoral address, signed by Robert Gordon in the name of the general assembly of the presbyterian kirk of Scotland, and read in all the churches the Sunday before last. Such

is the apostolic style, and far more than apostolic imperiousness, assumed by a body of clergy, one-third of whom do not even profess to preach the doctrines of the church with which they are associated, but just the opposite—another third of whom, whilst they promulgate its creed, exhibit none of its influence—and the remaining part of whom concur with the others in practically unchurching, if not unchristianising, that half of their nation that cannot pronounce their state-church shibboleth. Thus authoritatively speak those lords over God's heritage, who clinging convulsively to state pay, refuse state control—the moderator of whose assembly agreed with the Edinburgh clergy in wringing their paltry pence from Russell and others by imprisonment and restraint—and who, when some years since the present corn-laws were seemingly threatened, met in presbyteries and petitioned against such relief to the poor, because it would affect their grain-paid stipends. "Met with one accord," they divide by narrow majorities; and "in virtue of the authority committed to them by their King and Head," they, as state-churchmen, usurp the authority which, in all former times, their church has recognised as vested in the civil magistrate. More than half the flock over which, with canting impiety, they declare the Holy Ghost has made them overseers, is their's only because they arrogantly claim them, and the afflictions on account of which they call upon the nation to humble themselves, are the afflictions of clergymen who cannot retain state pay without submitting to state interference. Whether this be blind self-delusion, or nauseous hypocrisy, or both, we know not—but this we do know, that it is a complete burlesque upon religion.

The address goes on to state that "the Lord has a controversy with his church on account of their sins," and asserts that "the troubles and perils of an external nature in which their beloved church is involved, being connected in respect of time, and partly also in the way of natural consequence, with particular measures adopted, or with a particular line of conduct followed, although it might seem to be the mark and token of God's disapprobation of what has been done, must not be so interpreted by mere human and earthly wisdom—and that if, in repairing the breaches of former generations trouble and danger come, so far from thinking that any strange thing has befallen them, they who thus suffer are still called upon to testify that the Lord is righteous, and that all his ways are just and true." We confess, our blood boils with indignation as we write their monstrous perversions of scripture sentiment and language. Why what, in the end, are these men threatened with? neither more nor less than the loss of their endowments. The state claims to interfere in the church's affairs simply because the state finds the money. Would they but throw up their compulsorily-exacted emoluments, they would enjoy the spiritual independence, the invasion of which calls for a day of special humiliation. But spiritual independence is in their estimation too expensive to be sacrificed at the cost of *teinds*. And what they cannot consent to have at the expense of gold, they will obtain from heaven, if possible, by fasting and prayer. "Give us the independence and leave us the money too," is the burden of their supplication. "We cannot surrender the wealth, but we are overwhelmed with distress at the subordination to civil law which the wealth entails. Set us free from the grasp of courts of session with the money in our pockets."

"Why" ask these reverend divines, with a simplicity which, were it not for its shocking impiety, would be exquisitely amusing—"Why, instead of increased stability and security imparted to our possession of temporal privileges and advantages, do we find them all put in imminent jeopardy, many great and powerful foes ranged against us, and new difficulties from day to day arising, amid which we are more and more every day shut up to the necessity of crying, 'Help, Lord, for vain is the help of man.' The answer supplied by themselves is equally characteristic. "These things are manifest evidences of there being some accursed thing in the midst of us—some root of bitterness—some blot cleaving to our hands." Aye! the wedge of gold and the Babylonish garment explains all—this is "the accursed thing" and the imprisonment of conscientious men because they will not bow the knee to the image which clerical tyranny has set up, this is "the blot cleaving to their hands." The foul stain has sunk into the skin, and nothing can wipe it out. The mark of the beast is upon the arrogant, persecuting kirk—and she is doomed to fall by her own misdeeds. She is now feeding upon the ashes of her own pride, and drinking the nauseous cup which her own ambition and avarice has mingled. Down to the dregs will she be compelled to drain it, and none will pity her calamity. Let her but loose her hold upon the *teinds*, and her troubles would cease.

We cannot pursue this address further. The conformity to the world which she professes to deplore, she produces by her system and encourages by her example. A church living in the embraces of the state can no more keep up earnest religion, and separation from the world, than can the immodest promote and sustain the virtue of chastity. When the general assembly thinks fit again to appoint a day of fasting for the nation, on account of ecclesiastical difficulties, we commend to their serious notice a passage of scripture far more appropriate than any quoted in this pastoral address. "Wash you—make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes—cease to do evil—learn to do well—seek judgment—relieve the oppressed."

TESTIMONIAL TO MR. WILLIAM BAINES.

OUR columns this week contain a full report of the speeches delivered at a public breakfast meeting, held at Leicester on Friday last, to congratulate Mr. Baines on his honourable release from confinement, and to present him with a bible, as an expression of

admiration and gratitude for the consistent and manly stand he has made on behalf of religious rights. Although the morning is always valuable to persons engaged in business, and the day selected was especially inconvenient to the inhabitants of Leicester, not less than about two hundred of the most respectable dissenters of the town were present on the occasion. The feeling evinced was most enthusiastic, proving how fully the great principles of religious liberty are appreciated, how devotedly they are cherished in Leicester and its neighbourhood. A splendid bible, superbly, but most tastefully bound, contained in a carved and polished oaken case, was presented to this noble minded witness to the truth—and to render this little tribute of esteem still more pleasing to Mr. Baines, the expense of it was shared between upwards of 700 subscribers. We refer our readers to the eloquent speeches delivered at this interesting meeting, and can confidently promise them a rich gratification. It will appear from the report, as well as from an advertisement contained in our advertising columns, that the energetic proceedings of the Leicester voluntary church society have necessarily involved a considerable outlay. The time and services of its officers have been given from the first gratuitously. But the legal efforts made, in the first instance to prevent, and in two subsequent instances to terminate Mr. Baines's incarceration—the circularising the country to obtain co-operation in carrying a bill for the abolition of church rates, and other general movements on behalf of the liberties of dissenters—were not likely to be effected without considerable cost. The nonconformists at Leicester have not shrunk from bearing their portion of the burden. Of 800*l.* expended in these proceedings, one half had been paid previously to the meeting on Friday last, and towards the liquidation of the remaining 400*l.*, 150*l.* were subscribed, with cheerfulness, on the spot. To that body, for whose advantage the cost has been incurred, they now afford an opportunity of proffering assistance—assured that of the hundreds who visited Mr. Baines in prison, and of the thousands who would have done so if they could, more than a sufficient number will be found to testify by their pecuniary aid to the society in question their approbation of Mr. Baines's course.

TESTIMONIAL TO MR. W. BAINES.

A public breakfast to celebrate the liberation of Mr. Baines from the county gaol of Leicester, where he had been confined eight months in consequence of his refusal to pay a church rate, took place on Friday morning, July 23rd. at the Bell Hotel, in Leicester. The arrangements for the breakfast were very complete and satisfactory, and were such as to keep up the well established reputation of the conductors of the establishment. About 180 sat down, nearly one-half of which were ladies. Owing to some mismanagement the seat occupied by our reporter was very disadvantageous both for seeing and hearing. The Rev. J. E. Giles, of Leeds, asked a blessing. After the cloth was removed, Mr. Cripps said he had to propose as chairman a gentleman who lived in the esteem of every one in that place, and who had taken a part in support of religious liberty that seemed to point him out as the fittest person to occupy the chair on that occasion. He begged to propose that the Rev. E. Miall take the chair. The Rev. J. P. Mursell seconded the proposition.

The Rev. E. MIALL took the chair, and said, Ladies, gentlemen, and friends, the kindness with which it has been proposed to put me in the chair, has taken away from me the power of properly and adequately expressing my sense of the honour conferred on me. I esteem it an honour of the highest possible kind, and one which of all others I would covet, to be called to preside over a meeting intended to celebrate the carrying out and triumph of the voluntary principle [hear, hear]. We are assembled together to do honour to ourselves, by doing honour to Mr. Baines [hear, hear, and applause]. We are met together to mark our sense of his manly, devoted, self sacrificing Christian conduct in defence of those principles that lie near and are ever dear to the heart of hearts of all present; principles, in themselves of the utmost importance, in Leicester, I hope, well understood. We identify them with true religion. We consider them as associated with the spread and triumphs of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is this that invests them with importance in our esteem. Politically considered, they are good, but it is not in their political aspect that we care much about them; it is because the cause of religion is identified with carrying out the voluntary principle, that we take so deep an interest in its promulgation. The church of Christ cannot long exist in connexion with the compulsory system. That has been found the greatest impediment to the spread of real truth, therefore we take a deep throbbing interest in the spread of the voluntary principle throughout the kingdom [hear, hear]. Leicester has set the example, has gained a name, has obtained a reputation, and although that is not the main object, and may be looked upon with a careless eye, it places Leicester in a position of responsibility which cannot but be felt on the present occasion. We have earnestly looked forward to this moment from the time when our friend was first assailed by the advocates of the compulsory system. We have longed for the day to arrive, when we might celebrate his constancy, and joyously proclaim our sense of the importance of the principles for which he suffered, and we are now indulged in this, our ardent wish. Many have felt the deepest anxiety respecting him, and watched his course with extreme solicitude. He has nobly stood the fiery test [hear, hear, and applause]. He has acted worthy of the principles he professed [hear, hear], and placed them high in the esteem of many who thought not of them before, and felt nothing of their importance. This was the end we sought, the great end we had in view. We proposed to give this direction to the contest, and it has been answered. The indifference, the apathy, the languor which prevailed in the dissenting community, and which, exhibited to the eye of those in power, rendered them determined and resolute never to grant an extension of privileges, has been brushed away. There has been some feeling stirred up now on the subject. The matter was brought forward at the last election in a manner that it was never brought forward before. Men talk about it, look at it, even although it be with no friendly eye, discussion has been promoted. The crisis of the disease may be said to have turned. We have got over the worse part. I believe the imprisonment of Mr. Baines was the instrument of bringing about this better state of things, and in the joyousness of this moment of triumph we may forget the efforts of those, who seemed to have lost sight of great principles in their anxiety respecting the technicalities of Mr. Baines's course [hear, hear]. We saw them aiding the cause of the compulsory system with pain, it seemed unworthy of the men; they have done their part, we forgive them and trust that his course will be the means of leading even them to look once more over the question, and estimate more fully the value of the principles upheld by our friend, whom we now propose to honour.

Rev. G. LEGGE, A.M. said, Mr. chairman, my christian friends, on me it devolves to introduce the more interesting part of the proceedings of this



morning. I owe this partly to the suggestions of others, as a consequence of my official position; partly to my own choice, that I may the more freely enjoy with you the feast of intellect and feeling which I know to be in reserve for all. I will not occupy much of your time. I have to move the adoption of a resolution which will call forth a vibration in every one of your bosoms (*see advt.*). I never moved the adoption of any resolution, at any meeting, with more heartfelt delight, owing mainly to the position in which I see my right-hearted, noble-minded friend, so different to that in which it was my lot to see him for many months. He will forgive me, if he is my theme. I shall not travel very far out of the record. The resolution refers first, to the principles which induced Mr. Baines to submit to the incarceration of his person; with these I shall not meddle; they have made Englishmen the foremost "men of all this world." It is not necessary for me to show that this conduct was imperative on all and deserving of universal imitation. It is enough that Mr. Baines was fully persuaded in his own mind. He chose that path which seemed to him the path of truth, of righteousness, and honour; thinking as he did, he could not act otherwise than he did, without abjuring his principles, forfeiting his manhood, and perilling the cause to which he was devoted. He set his face as a flint. He obeyed the command of duty. In the highest sense of the term, he acted conscientiously; therefore I honour him in the depth of my heart [hear, hear]. He is one whom all dissenters should delight to honour, as we do this morning. The resolution refers to a consistency maintained for a long period of trial. In the first instance he had good reason to expect that the ecclesiastical courts would not be found omnipotent; in this he was disappointed, nevertheless he would not shrink from the consequences. He expected dissenters would be roused from their lethargy; but here again he was egregiously mistaken, multitudes of the dissenters took it as quietly as lambs [hear, hear, and laughter]. With a few exceptions, they were gentle as sucking doves [laughter]. Nay, Sir, worse than this, while they were gentle as lambs to the powers that be, they launched the voice of a dragon at Mr. Baines and myself to boot [hear, hear]. I care not. In reference to the gentleman who has done this, I might a tale unfold of meanness which would make me blush for my cloth and my country [laughter]. All these things were against Mr. Baines, and strongly tended to sicken and confound him, as they have done some of us; but in spite of want of sympathy from without, the estrangement of many at home, the dubious comfortings of some parties who considered that enough had been given to the public weal, and the accomplishment of the great purpose, our friend held fast the beginning of his confidence to the end: he gave clear and decisive evidence that he was of the same mind as the apostle Paul when he said it was better for him to die than that any man should rob him of the consistency he had maintained [hear, hear]. Again, I say, we honour him. He has secured honour among those who, in all times, have suffered and fought for their God and country. The resolution goes on to tender him our congratulations. These will be offered him in a more substantial manner than any I can offer—in connection with the word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever. The resolution closes with a hope that his self-sacrifice and endurance will be found to have contributed something to the destruction of ecclesiastical courts. I hope it will be. Meanwhile, let us not speak of this meeting as a triumph. Those courts have triumphed in the conflict. We have been defeated; I wish them joy of their victory [hear, hear]. I am reminded here of an incident in Roman history. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, came into Italy with the hope of subjugating Rome, and, with his veteran troops and elephantine squadrons, he felt sure of success. In the first engagement he was victor; but with such havoc of his own forces, that when congratulated by a friend he exclaimed, "such another victory and I am undone." So we think the churchwardens of St. Martin's, and churchmen in general, may say—"a few such victories more and we are undone" [hear, hear]. Our party has always gathered strength from suffering, victory from defeat [hear, hear]. If they had caused him to make any base compromise, we had been undone. But now we might adopt the language of Bunyan's pilgrim to Apollyon, in the valley of humiliation, "Rejoice not over me, O mine enemy; though I fall I shall arise again" [applause]. In the story to which I referred, it is farther recorded of Pyrrhus, that after the strife was over, when surveying the battlefield, he marked the Romans that had fallen in the strife, their back to the field and their feet to the foe. When he marked the muscular style of their frames, the stern resolution printed in their faces, breathing strength, calmness, and defiance, he said, "Give me such men and I will conquer the world." And so I say in reference to Mr. Baines; the cause that can boast of such men is secure. Let dissenters in general be but actuated by such a spirit and they will overcome the world [applause].

The CHAIRMAN said he was happy to propose, as the seconder of the resolution, the name of a gentleman who could most fully sympathise with Mr. Baines in his sufferings, who was most ardently attached to the principles of religious liberty, and who had already displayed that attachment by suffering imprisonment—Mr. Childs, of Bungay [hear, hear, and applause]. He could not let such a festival as that pass by without being present to enjoy the scene. There was no man living who was more fully alive to the importance of the occasion created by the imprisonment of their friend Mr. Baines, and no man more pleased to hear of his consistent fortitude to the end. He should not speak for him, but leave him to speak for himself. His name would be almost sufficient for the meeting, even though he spoke not a word.

Mr. J. CHILDS said, I did not come to Leicester to make a speech. I came especially to offer Mr. Baines the right-hand of fellowship [hear, hear, and applause]. I am charged with the thanks of a great number of excellent people to him for his christian deportment and consistency. It has seemed strange to us, living in an isolated, parson-ridden district, that there should have been apathy existing in various places. We remember in 1837 there was considerable excitement throughout the country. Men went to London, calling themselves delegates, and pledging themselves to do homage to those principles we are now met to honour. How did that subside so soon? [hear, hear]. When I went into the room in the City of London Tavern and saw the chairman, my heart sunk within me. O, said I, the Lushingtons have got upon us [hear, hear]. There was no mistake from that moment. The brother of an ecclesiastical judge presiding at a meeting of the Religious Freedom Society [hear, hear]. What followed? A dinner was held at the Crown and Anchor on the day when the great meeting took place there. Instead of speaking of the principles they were met to advocate, dissenting ministers stood up and desired the body to take the *Patriot* newspaper [hear, hear]. The Lushingtons and the *Patriot* damped the ardour of the people in the country. I charge the government first, the Lushingtons next, and thirdly, the *Patriot* people, with damping the energies of the people. In July I met a member of parliament, the member for Ipswich, who said, "I have told Lord John Russell that there will be great excitement on the church-rate question. He said, probably there will, but it will soon subside in that quarter" [hear, hear]. I do not like to speak disadvantageously of Lord John Russell, but his conduct is too unkind to dissenters [hear, hear]. I wrote to him, complaining of his false estimate of dissenters, and he said I had totally misapprehended what he said, but he did not tell me what he meant, which he should have done. I am afraid dissenting ministers are not sound yet [hear, hear]. The dissenting ministers of London ventured to sneer at me, at Mr. Baines, and John Thorogood [hear, hear], at a meeting of the Religious Freedom Society. Dr. Campbell did so. To the honour of the member for Leicester, he

made it his business to rise and put Dr. Campbell down on the occasion. He said, "Let every man be persuaded in his own mind; Mr. Baines is acting honestly, and is not to be sneered at." I can tell Dr. Campbell it is no joke to go to prison [hear, hear]. It would have been more becoming to have taken it for granted that we were acting on what we believed to be principle. Thorogood is not a man to be sneered at. I watched him, and a more upright, intelligent man does not exist. What course is to be pursued to have our principles carried out? Mr. Knight Bruce has given advice to the churchwardens of Llandaff how to act in all particulars. He advises the course that has been pursued at Braintree. That will bring us upon a basis on which only we have a right to stand. When society is to be mauled by a minority there is an end of society. We are accustomed to bow to majorities. Now if a minority shall act as at Braintree, shall we stand firmly passive and let the law come, if it is law? What can they do? There is no determination so strong as not to do. What can they do with a man who does nothing? I ventured to write to Mr. Spring Rice, and I told him that the course which was being pursued by government would alienate dissenters from them; and further, that dissenters where I lived were determined to give passive obedience to the law. He did me the honour of a letter of two sheets of paper, in which he set forth the wickedness of what he called passive resistance. To speak of ecclesiastical law (said Mr. Childs), was at this time of day an insult to the common understanding of man,—his son had been cited to the ecclesiastical court of Norwich, in 1840, for non-payment of a rate of 3s. 6d., and he had already travelled to the court nearly a thousand miles, and there seemed no more chance of termination to the cause than on the first day of his appearance. It was a remarkable day on which his son was first cited to appear in that court, being the 10th of February, the day of the Queen's marriage, and at the instant of his appearance in the ghostly court, the door opening into the body of the cathedral church stood open, and just at the instant, the organ was playing the marriage anthem, and the choir was ringing with the sounds of the organ, the church was full of citizens of Norwich, with its corporation, and many of them dissenters, joining in the glory of the day. The only empty seat was that of the bishop. His throne—the bishops call their arm chairs thrones—was empty, and though the baron bishop was absent at the marriage ceremony, the recusant was soon taken in hand by his officials, the proctors, registrars, and judges, of the holy office. The usage of these courts is such an insulting mockery of law, that he would urge upon those who do not make it, as he did himself, a point of conscience, never to recognise these courts, to avoid them as they would the greatest plagues, because, where persons were compelled to fee proctors, the expense was ruinous, while there were but few persons who had time, or temper, or opportunity, to go through the necessary turmoil, he therefore expressed the hope again, in conclusion, that the dissenters would everywhere adopt the course of passive obedience to the law, in whatever form it might, by the ingenuity of churchmen, be presented to them.

Rev. J. WEBB, of Arnsby, rose to support the resolution, and said, I am happy to say my feelings concur with those expressed by the gentlemen who preceded me. I greatly honour the man who has maintained firmly his principles and I should suggest a slight emendation in the resolution. It says "that this meeting approving generally of the principles which induced Mr. Baines, &c." I should say specially, for I honour so much the man, I have no exceptions to take. I specially honour him and his principles too. If the church of England, viewed as a secular worldly establishment, be indeed the cause of so much mischief, injury, and ruin to this country; he who most heartily opposes that church, and meets it in the same spirit as David met Goliath, is most heartily to be honoured. When I think of the mischief it has done, that it has impeded the progress of the kingdom of Christ, and is the sworn foe of all that is dear to an Englishman's heart and a Christian's likewise, I honour the man who would beard the lion in his den, and oppose it at any expense [hear, hear, and applause]. I need not remind this audience that the church has been opposed to liberty, from the earliest age to the present. I do not say that principle requires that a man should go to prison, I think the man who refuses to pay carries out in a dignified mode his Christian principles, and does well, but still I think the man who goes to prison does better [hear, hear], therefore, I honour Mr. Baines for so doing. I confess when it has been my painful, pleasing lot to see Mr. Baines in prison, the tear has met a smile on my countenance [hear, hear]. I have no sympathy with those principles that would induce a dissenter to say, "I would not identify myself with the church established in this country but yet, I will voluntarily pay all demands legally made upon me." No! conscience shall be lord of my resources as well as my knee. The three worthies if they had been asked to subscribe half a shkel to the erection of the golden image would have pursued just the same line of conduct they did [hear, hear]. As far as principles are concerned, there is in that case an identity with the church [hear, hear]. If setting up the image was an invasion of the rights of conscience, so is a national church. If that was intended to bind men in moral slavery, so is a national church. My purse, my knee, all I have, and all I am, shall be the dignified servant of conscience. I will neither pay nor worship, and I commend it to this meeting to act on that holy principle. Let them "stand still and see the salvation of our God." [hear, hear]. Let them act consistently with their principles, and not satisfied with assailing this or that minor grievance, attack the metropolis of ecclesiastical wrong. Maintain your warfare till victory crown your efforts, till the rights of conscience be honoured, and the Redeemer ascend his glorious throne, and sway his golden sceptre over a liberated and ransomed race [hear, hear, and applause].

The chairman put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN in presenting the splendid bible, said, Mr. William Baines, the most difficult, and yet most pleasing part of my duties now devolves upon me. I have to convey to you the congratulations, sincere and hearty, of this meeting, upon your honourable release from a lengthened confinement; I have to be the tongue of this meeting to give utterance to the gratitude that rises and beats in its inmost heart. We have watched your course with no common feelings; had you faltered our cause would have been lost [hear, hear]. We believe that you were supported, not simply by a manly determination, but by help from heaven, that you sought aid where aid only is to be found, at the throne of heaven's mercy, and of him who can give strength equal to the day. The unostentatious simplicity, the calm unshrinking courage with which you have maintained Christian principles, cannot but have won from us towards yourself deep admiration. From our heart of hearts we thank you. On behalf of the great cause of truth and righteousness, we thank God for you. For all that has sustained you, for the comfort ministered to you, the sympathy which you have enjoyed, and that fortitude which you have been enabled to manifest during eight months imprisonment, we offer our sincere and fervent thanks to God. You have taken an enlightened view of the constitution of Christ's kingdom, you believe it to be exclusively spiritual, and you have given full proof that you bow to the authority of its Lord. The principles of that kingdom have been enshrined in your heart, and we cannot do a more consistent thing, than, in token of our admiration of your course, to present you with the charter of that kingdom. You have found your consolation here, (pointing to the bible), here are those principles which you resolved should never be yielded up even at the solicitations of men who could back their commands with imprisonment itself. These principles you have embraced, you have enshrined them, I must say, in a heart of oak. We pro-

pose to present you with a bible containing those principles, encased in an oaken chest, an emblem at once of the principles themselves, and the spirit in which those principles have been displayed and contained (applause). Accept, sir, at our hands, this very feeble, but we hope, appropriate token of our gratitude, esteem, and fond affection. May the principles you have adopted, be those of your children (hear, hear). May your prayers be heard on behalf of those who follow you. We hope they will tread in your footsteps. The prayers of this meeting do now silently ascend to God, that he may bless you, and lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and give you grace under all circumstances to continue steadfast to the end that you may receive a crown of life.

The CHAIRMAN then read the inscription on the bible which is as follows:—

“Presented to Mr. William Baines, July 23rd, 1841, on his liberation from the county gaol of Leicester, in which he had suffered eight months' imprisonment, for disregarding the command of the Court of Arches, to pay a church rate; as a sincere but inadequate expression of grateful admiration, by his fellow nonconformists. His enlightened views of the exclusive sovereignty of Christ in his church, his single-hearted determination to carry them into practice, and the cheerful fortitude with which he endured persecution, have placed him high among the men, who in all times have suffered for conscience' sake.

Mr. W. BAINES rose amid the hearty and long-continued applause of the company, and said:—It is unnecessary for me to tell you that I meet you with peculiar and mingled feelings. You are well aware that all have their parts to perform in the present life; some to do and others to suffer. It is unnecessary for me to go into the general question of church rates; I believe every one present has looked into it narrowly. Their true character is injustice. I had hoped to have been able to express myself somewhat fully and clearly, but so overpowering are my feelings on this occasion, that I feel bereft of the little power, which, under less exciting circumstances, I might have of addressing you (applause). The last time we met in connection with this subject, was to express our admiration of that honest, straightforward, maligned, persecuted, injured man, John Thorogood. On that occasion I promised that I would be found at my post, that were I called to endure imprisonment for my principles, a prison should possess no terrors for me. That would have been an empty boast, if I had trusted in my own strength; it would have been impossible to have carried it out. The event soon followed, and it was a severe test. I was torn from my home under peculiar circumstances, at a time of great domestic solicitude, this was a trial which no man who trusted in his own strength could have endured [hear, hear]. The aid I had implored did not forsake me when the crisis arrived, but imparted that support, that peace of mind and submission, which omnipotence alone could give [applause]. The same kind watchful care was continued to me during my confinement, and even in the hours of solitude uninterrupted cheerfulness was afforded me. Men may be separated from earthly comforts, but we have a friend that sticketh closer than a brother, a friend who will support when all others are shut out [hear, hear]. I trust the cause of civil and religious liberty has been somewhat advanced, by the trifling inconvenience sustained by so unworthy an individual as he who now stands before you. I regret the difference of opinion which exists in reference to the course to be adopted, in getting the crying grievance of church rates redressed. I am not a man of extremes, but, while I pay every deference and respect to the civil powers, I trust I shall ever draw the line of distinction between civil power and divine laws [hear, hear]. I am quite satisfied as to the ground I have taken, and trust I shall be able to maintain it. If called again to suffer I hope I shall be found at my post. I look upon the kind testimonial of your approbation now given me, with feelings of peculiar gratification—it contains the truths that have enabled me to make a stand against ecclesiastical despotism, the influence of which, I trust, will be increasingly felt by posterity; and I pray that each succeeding age will add to the number of those who, perceiving, are not afraid to act out the difference between divine and human laws. My children may be devoid of earthly honours and earthly goods, but, while they possess this treasure, they can never be poor. It is a beautiful specimen of art, but that is a mere trifle, I trust it will be read, and its sacred precepts attended to. If it remind those who live after me of bygone days, should they be placed in a similar position, they will look to that and derive consolation which no earthly power can possibly disturb [applause]. I beg to express my sincere thanks for this proof of your approbation and kindness. It has been said that I was deserted and had no sympathy, but this testimonial, together with the countenance of 1150 sincere, kind, and I hope christian friends, from all parts of the kingdom, who visited me in prison, abundantly testify that I was not forgotten. Mr. Baines sat down amid the hearty plaudits of those present.

The CHAIRMAN said, I believe it will be entirely unnecessary here to amplify the hints thrown out by our friend Mr. Baines, with reference to the reasons that guided him in his course. They are probably well understood in this locality, and have been frequently put before the public mind. The great principle is the exclusive sovereignty of Christ in his church, and the simple existence of a power that commands in matters of religion, is a sufficient reason with us to stand opposed to it, to contend with it. Even if it do not interfere with our civil and spiritual freedom, for the sake of truth, the sake of religion, for the sake of the church with which we have identified ourselves, we feel impelled to pursue an aggressive course, and to win from the powers that be that authority which they have usurped from their Lord. Mr. Baines has taken that principle up and carried it out in his conduct. What power commanded, he resisted. He would not obey, because that power was opposed to the power of Christ, and the command had reference to spiritual things. He has stood as a martyr, for we must apply to him that term—a witness to a scriptural truth. I have only just to mention, in reference to the bible that it has been subscribed for by upwards of 700 individuals, and this is an answer to those who say that there is no sympathy displayed towards Mr. Baines. I have to announce the name of a gentleman to move the second resolution, who has always taken a manly part in behalf of the principles we advocate, and whose reputation, if perchance, not so great in this locality, as further toward the north, will certainly ensure him a cordial reception—the Rev. J. E. Giles, of Leeds [applause].

Rev. J. E. GILES said, I have been requested to move the second resolution (*See advertisement*). Ladies and gentlemen, I tell you honestly I know not how to speak on this occasion, it is too exciting, when calm I might speak; I am not calm now; my heart beats and I envy not the man whose heart would not beat on such an occasion as this. I assure when you I look around on this assembly and call to mind what I have heard I feel that there never was an occasion on which I should be more reluctant that my services should be dispensed with, yet upon which I feel that they might be better dispensed with, than on the present occasion. When I recollect what advocates of religious liberty Leicester has been blessed with—the living, aye, and the dead (hear, hear), I feel that it would be impertinence to appear before you on this occasion, if I had not some claim to be regarded as a sincere, practical, working admirer of our noble-minded friend William Baines. When I last passed by Leicester Mr. Baines was an inmate of your county gaol; its walls strong and high, too securely kept him from the ordinary society of his friends, but there are sympathies and fellowship of freeborn souls which no walls can hinder, and when I looked on those walls my

thoughts and my heart were with the prisoner. I prayed ardently to God. “Let the sighing of the captive come before thee;” and sealed many a vow in heaven that no prayers nor exertions should be wanting to secure his liberation (hear, hear). I knew what was the spirit generally entertained by dissenters, but I knew that in the West Riding of Yorkshire, (can any good thing come out of Nazareth, you will say?) in that priest-ridden part of the country were 44 congregations of my own denomination who honoured the man that would not bend his knee to Baal, and I thought they might be got to express their indignation at his sufferings in tones which government would be compelled to hear; consequently, when the time came I redeemed my pledge, I made an appeal to those congregations, and they promptly, immediately, and unanimously responded to the appeal (hear, hear, and applause). My friend Mr. Childs when he talked about dissenting ministers looked me hard in the face and inserted a clause, “saving your presence, sir.” (Owing to the unfavourable position we occupied, the crowding round the speakers of persons who could have heard as well had they sat down, and the rattle of a passing chaise, some of the windows being open, we lost here a part of the Rev. gents. speech. When we could hear him he was saying in reference to the churches above referred to, did they stab the reputation of our friend? Did they upbraid the victim when they saw him writhing in the grasp of persecution for getting there? They did nothing of the kind—good, innocent, honest, simple-minded Yorkshiremen that they were, they thought the Tories would do all that [applause]. They thought they had better get him out first and ask him how he got there afterwards [applause]. Did they pay visits to Mr. Baines and write letters of condolence that would leave him in bonds? We did no such thing. We made visits to members of the House of Commons, or those who wished to become members, and we sent letters of condolence to Downing-street, instead of to Leicester gaol [applause]. The consequence was a complete stir throughout the West Riding. Through such instrumentality, we may claim some share with the Leicester people in having created this excitement. We moved simultaneously with them. We saw our members and made the subject of conversation the liberation of Mr. Baines. We told them we must be bribed for our votes and the price was his liberation [hear, hear, and applause]. We made the newspapers ring with the importance of it, and succeeded in getting a promise, honestly, freely, and heartily given from one of the ministers of the crown, that he would do all in his power to release Mr. Baines. And here permit me to say that the ministers of the crown were more disposed to help dissenters than dissenters were to help themselves [hear, hear]. I know that they have sometimes done as ministers generally do, they have a kind of elastic, india-rubber conscience that will give way sometimes; that they have exhibited a degree of ministerial indolence; that being churchmen they do not thoroughly comprehend the great principles of religious liberty; that they have said something about finality; and that occasionally, by a speech, or a vote, they have done great harm to dissent: but if I had been a minister of state and a churchman, I would have manifested contempt for dissenters, I could not have done otherwise. How could I honour the men, who would do no honour to themselves [hear, hear], I can only say, when we went hat in hand to dissuading ministers to co-operate with us we have been refused; but we never have asked her majesty's ministers for help but we have promptly received it (hear, hear). I speak that I know and testify that I have seen. Last year we determined to make a movement for John Thorogood, and for Mr. Oncken. It was necessary to lay our memorial for that object at the foot of the throne, and the ministers did everything in their power for us. The Marquis of Normanby, Lord Palmerston, Lord Morpeth, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer did everything in their power to smooth the way to the throne (hear, hear). We conversed about the imprisonment of John Thorogood, and the Marquis of Normanby said, “I feel it is a hardship and will do all in my power to soften it. I would have brought a bill into the House of Commons to have swept away the ecclesiastical courts, but you have not sent a house that will allow us to do it. I promise not to let an opportunity slip and if he can be liberated he shall. Do you wish me to say anything more?” He was good as his word, when the bill was brought in by Mr. Duncombe, ministers did actually move. They said there was a public stir that would do harm to the church, that stir was a memorial from 44 churches. I went to Viscount Palmerston and entreated him to give his sanction to our mission to Hamburg. He said I cannot interfere directly in the case because Mr. Oncken is a German subject, all I can do I will, I give you permission to say you have her majesty's sanction to your mission, in addition you may say that government takes the deepest interest in it. Write down all you want, and I will give you the introduction of government itself, to the Hamburg Senate, and send such a despatch as shall serve you” (hear, hear). That despatch he gave us and when it was opened in the office of the consul at Hamburg he said, “if anything on earth can serve you this despatch will do it.” I believe it is in consequence of the appeal to Lord Morpeth, and owing to the interference of that high-minded nobleman, that Mr. Baines's prison doors have been thrown open and he has come out of prison; come out as erect as he went in (hear, hear, and much applause), to the honours of this auspicious day, which no slanders shall pluck from his brow while he lives, and which, when he dies, shall flourish ever green and fragrant on his tomb (applause). I am not surprised that he has been slandered when I consider what human nature is—what dissenting nature is (hear, hear, and laughter), by some who call themselves christians, who hold office in what is called the only true apostolic church of Jesus Christ. The man who when all forsook Paul would have stood by him, who would have gone with Daniel into the den of lions, who would have stood with knee unbent before Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, who would rather have his body fettered than his mind in chains, who has nothing but his body that can be enslaved, nothing but his body to throw on the altar of persecution, who will not hold the comforts of life at a peppercorn-rent to the devil, is not a production of every age; it is not every one that can appreciate his value. I am not surprised at the little surplice-washers, the church-sweepers, the demi-semi-officials of the state church, the little, small whistling pipes of the ecclesiastical organ that can only squeak out that which the great episcopal bellows blows into them (roars of laughter). What wonder that they cannot tell the value of such a man as Mr. Baines. What wonder that they should try to malign him, and throw spots on his character. I have seen flies leave their specks on the busts of Demosthenes and Cicero (laughter). It is the privilege of insignificance; but those busts will live when the flies are dead and their little dirty work has been swept away (laughter). Who would you rather be, Mr. Baines or the churchwardens who imprisoned him? This bible-loving man or those worshippers of rubrics? If this be such a man, I love to see him here. This is a position I envy him. Mr. Baines, can you get me sent to gaol (laughter)? I will go if you will assure me that I shall have such a way out as you have found (laughter). If this be such a man, worthy to occupy such a position, being the brightest star in this constellation; then there is a question to be asked, why has this man been imprisoned? In the 19th century, not in New Zealand (hear, hear), not in Madagascar, but in Britain (hear, hear). In Britain whose soil has been enriched with martyrs' blood—in Britain in which the battle of religious liberty has been carried on for 300 years—in Britain the land of civilization and intelligence—why has this man been imprisoned (hear, hear)? They tell you it is for the majesty of the law. So say churchmen, and a dissenting clergyman of Edinburgh says, ditto (much laughter). If that is law, it was spawned when ignorance and superstition

were married together by the devil. If that is law what is your bill of rights, your habeas corpus act, your magna charta, what, but rotten pieces of parchment? What is the British constitution? What is it to be a freeborn Briton, a native of a land which the slave no sooner touches than he is free? Mr. Baines shall have justice, says the constitution. Indeed he shall not say the ecclesiastical courts. He shall be tried by a jury of his peers, says the constitution. He shall have an impartial verdict from his ecclesiastical enemies, say the ecclesiastical courts. He shall not be taxed but by his representatives, says the constitution. He shall be taxed by bishops, by musty customers, and by churchwardens so long as they can get the money, say the ecclesiastical courts. You shall if proved innocent come out free from expense, and be acquitted after an honourable, free, and unexpensive manner, says the constitution. The ecclesiastical courts say, you shall do nothing of the sort. We will tax acknowledged innocence, and though we set his body free, will keep his purse behind. The constitution says there is mercy in the crown for felons and murderers, but Mr. Baines was condemned by a system which tears that jewel from the crown, and has degraded the Queen to a turnkey for bigots; which tells her, although she can bind and lock up all her dissenting subjects, if she please, she shall not draw back a single bolt, or knock off a single fetter, until prelates and churchwardens give her leave—until their itching palms have been well tickled with dissenting gold. O, sir, the majesty of the law! The majesty of jargon, intolerance, of sharks, and plunderers! "England with all thy faults I love thee still," thy dust is precious to me. I love the weeds of my native soil, I would be the last to stand in opposition to the constitutional law of the country, I yield to no man in obedience to the constituted authorities of the land, but, I cannot obey that law—the ecclesiastical law without treason to the British constitution (hear, hear), without sanctioning the usurpation of ecclesiastical smocks and mitres over the prerogatives of the crown. I tell you your liberties are not safe, the throne is not safe till this nuisance is swept away from the land (hear, hear). We used to think it nothing but nuisance and rottenness, but now it is quickening into life and the land will be poisoned (hear, hear). Why has this man been imprisoned? (I call him MAN, away with the term gentleman in such a connection). For the honour and glory and sanctity of religion. They cannot be maintained without it! There would be no permanence in orthodoxy of faith, no morality, consistency, nothing like order, suitable order, comfort or social peace in the land unless they lock up all such men in prison. So say the churchwardens and the parsons, the churchwardens' masters, and so say all upwards until you get to the highest pinnacle of the hierarchy. What is religion then? I always thought religion was righteousness, and is it any more right to rob for the support of a creed than to rob on the highway to support necessity? I always thought religion holiness; but is holiness to be promoted by the persecutors of holy men, converting them into jail-birds, and telling them to make their nest there for ever. I always thought religion good will and peace. Has it produced peace? Did it not scare peace from the domestic hearth? Has it healed the asperity of parties and produced peace between the church and dissent? Religion is the faith of the gospel. Have unbelievers and infidels been converted by gazing on the edifying spectacle of one christian taking another by the throat and dragging him off to the common gaol? Religion is the imitation of the example of Jesus Christ; but, would Jesus Christ have inflicted suffering upon any creature for filthy lucre? (Judas would). What is religion? If its end is to divide the community into hirelings and slaves, to distract the peace of society, that one class of men should think for the rest and enslave the consciences of their fellow-creatures, if its end be that a proud hierarchy should be maintained in pomp and indolence, to drag the wheels of human improvement, and fling into the caldron of political excitement all the gall of a priestly stomach; if this be the end—the end has been answered by establishments in all ages, all parts of the world and in every variety of creed (hear, hear). The end of religion is love, the gospel is love, the Saviour was the incarnation of love, the heaven to which the gospel points is a place of eternal love, the spirit of the gospel is love, the morality of the gospel is love, its doctrine is love, and if a man subscribe himself christian and love not, blot out the lying record and write hypocrite, or self deceiver on his front. "For if a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If this be the end of religion, what end is there in religion which the compulsory principle is not calculated directly to destroy? It is the destruction of religion. Violence cannot produce love. I ask whether it has done so on this occasion, or any other former occasion. Did shutting up Mr. Childs in prison produce love? Did taking away the bible at Rochdale for a church rate produce love there? Did the imprisonment of Jones of Llanon produce love? Did the shooting of the sons of the widow Ryan at Rathcormack produce love? Did it make her love the soldiers, the tithe loving rector, the church of which he was so bright an ornament, the commander-in-chief for sending down thanks that the soldiers had done their duty, or the government that kept him in office? Have there been many conversions to protestantism by powder and shot regeneration? Its first tendency is to destroy the very end contemplated by religion. One kind of love it has produced; it has made us all love dissent—the great principle of protestant nonconformity, the right of private judgment; and I hope we are more resolved that that great principle shall be made known and maintained. What may lie before us we cannot tell. Government is against you, the house of Lords is against you, the Commons are against you, the bench of judges is against you ("shame"). You have no refuge there, I tell you. They are determined to strain every musty custom into law, if it can be done. You have no refuge in that place where we have been taught that innocence pursued might find shelter and an asylum. You have not only Judge Tyndal and Judge Abinger, but Judge Gurney (hear, hear), the man who seems to have forgotten that the B. which stands for Baron once stood for Baptist. You have the people against you—the voting people I mean. On the other hand you have the throne on your side (hear, hear, and applause). The Queen has again and again—may heaven's best blessings rest upon her!—asked the people to allow her to set them free and the people have said "no" ("shame"). The majority of the ten pound voters are in our favour, likewise the bible is on our side, our God is on our side, and seeing this is the case, we have nothing to fear (hear, hear). On the other hand are things that appear to be ominous, but although the wave of popular feeling seems to be retiring, the tide of reform is still coming in (hear, hear). Whatever be the immediate consequences, God has declared in his word that antichrist shall die, shall be ground to powder, and cast as a mill stone into the depths of the sea (hear, hear). Therefore, however dark the sky may be, I feel persuaded we shall see, even on the darkest cloud, some token of divine mercy spanning the tempest like a rainbow, radiant with peace and tranquillity (hear, hear). Only be true to yourselves. God will be with us therefore will not we fear. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge (hear, hear, and great applause).

Rev. H. TOLLER rose and said, I should not have felt it becoming at all to take part in the proceedings of this morning, but, I was wanted to fill up a gap; I have, therefore, very great pleasure in simply standing forward to second the resolution which has been so ably moved on this occasion. I shall only say ditto to Mr. Giles, and express my earnest hope that the sentiments contained in the resolution will be deeply felt, and will be carried out. It is matter of comparatively little importance whether we agitate for the abolition of church rates and ecclesiastical courts (hear, hear), what we have to do is to separate the church from the state (hear, hear). You know

the simple truth is this, if it is right that there should be a connection between church and state, it is right there should be ecclesiastical courts. If it is right there should be a church establishment, it is right there should be church rates. If it is right there should be a church establishment, it is right that recusants like Mr. Baines should go to gaol. If it is right there should be a church establishment, they have only carried out their principles. The facts that ecclesiastical courts are utterly bad, that church rates are inconsistent with religious liberty, and that the establishment can imprison such men as Mr. Baines, acting under what they believe to be their duty, prove to me that it is altogether incompatible with the principles of real religion. That union is unscriptural, altogether anti-scriptural, and directly opposed to the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ. Do you believe, my ministerial brethren especially, that this is the case? (Yes, yes). That it is contrary to the declared will of Jesus Christ? (Yes, yes). And will you not make it your bounden solemn duty to declare it before your congregations, (applause), your fixed resolve to wipe away this blot, to stand up and proclaim this to be a sin as much as any other (hear, hear), and to stand firmly and resolutely against it till this sin is done away, this vile national crime is removed? I think by doing all in our power we wash our hands of the crime—if our fellow men will not unite with us we are free. But, when dissenters are indifferent and slothful, when they will not and dare not lift up their voices against it, the guilt rests upon them as much as upon the ecclesiastics. If this union be wrong, unscriptural, anti-scriptural, and contrary to the will of Christ, is it not our solemn duty, as men, as christians, and as ministers, to exert ourselves to the uttermost to produce their separation? Away with discussion about ecclesiastical courts and church rates, so far as they stand alone. While this union remains I have no objection that they should continue; if they were removed, I fear dissenters would care very little about this national sin; I am glad the shoe pinches, because I think they will be glad to get rid of it altogether. If this be an upas tree, instead of cutting off its smaller branches, let it be altogether rooted up; if it is a good tree, do not touch a single leaf, or remove a single branch. If this union is right, do not touch church rates, or ecclesiastical courts, and let all such recusants as Mr. Baines lie and rot in gaol; but, if this union is wrong, away with it altogether, let your object be to separate it, to do away with it, and the sooner the better. It is a question on which I feel deeply, and on which I never will conceal my sentiments.

The CHAIRMAN put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. CRIPPS said, he felt he appeared before them at a disadvantage, they had been listening to spirit stirring appeals, and to principles; it was his province to bring before them details, and those of not the most agreeable kind, although flowing from the principles. Principles must cost something. Their friend Mr. Baines had paid his costs by suffering imprisonment in Leicester gaol, and it should never be forgotten that he paid a far higher price than they could pay on that occasion. There had been other costs, and they would not be surprised at hearing that they were not very trifling. The paper he held in his hand showed that the voluntary church society in Leicester, had expended not less than 800*l*. Leicester had done its part in raising funds, for they had already paid 400*l*. He thought the resolution he had to move (*see advt.*) must approve itself to the feelings and common sense of each of them, and he thought it would be fair to say to the country,—"We have expended 800*l*. in great public questions and have paid 400*l*.—we ask you to come in and share with us the honour of contributing." He was not disposed to recommend the friends to do that exactly, but to do a little more, to begin another subscription, and begin it immediately. If they were disposed to respond, he then recommended that the gentlemen named in the resolution be a committee for the purpose of making known to the country generally, the circumstances in which the society was placed. As example was better than precept he begged to have his name put down for 5*l*.

Mr. J. MANNING seconded the resolution, and begged to follow Mr. Cripps' example. The society had been as economical as possible, nothing had been expended in waste.

The subscription was immediately commenced. Mr. R. COOKE enquired whether the remainder of the previously promised subscription would be called, and was answered by the chairman, that that had been given up when the last call was made. After a short time it was announced that upwards of 137*l*. had been subscribed, and this sum was afterwards made up to nearly 150*l*.

Rev. J. P. MURSELL said, to wind up the engagements of the morning, I merely rise to propose that the thanks of the meeting be presented to those gentlemen who have favoured us with their presence from a distance. We have among us our esteemed and valued friend Mr. Giles of Leeds, we have our friend Mr. Childs of Bungay, we have again a gentleman who has not yet shown himself to you, whose name is in high repute, but who, on account of some affection in the throat that he has, or says he has, has not taken a part in the proceedings of this morning, Mr. Kelly of Liverpool: he will excuse my saying, as the meeting was put off on his account, we shall not be satisfied unless he says something. We have, again, our esteemed president on this occasion, the Rev. E. Miall, a man that all who know him only know to love and esteem him, whose residence among us was comparatively short, but who left an impression—a moral, mental, and religious fragrance among us, that can never decay or vanish from our midst (applause). I do not sympathise with those, however sincere their motives, who have regretted that he has descended from what may be termed the highest position, to advocate more broadly the same principles. I believe he is admirably adapted to the work which he has adopted; if any doubt, let them read the *Nonconformist*. I wish you, Sir, and your manly, eloquent, and powerful paper, a long and mutual life and success (applause). It is the only organ that has eloquently openly, truthfully, advocated the principles of nonconformity. I hope those principles will universally prevail, and am quite sure the organ which thus supports them will meet with wide and winning success. I am quite aware of the great opposition to it, but that with me is the greatest and best proof and promise of its triumphs. I perfectly fall in with the noble sentiments advocated by Mr. Giles this morning. The battle, I believe, is just commencing. We have now to go to work. The elements have been preparing for the contest. Thunder clouds are coming into collision. I hope to enter on this contest without acrimony. There is no occasion for hating men because we disapprove of their principles. It is very difficult to meet opposite parties without being chafed and galled. We must go with tempered zeal—if too ardent we shall not be so likely to succeed. It is not to be a short contest, but I fear a protracted one. Let us not be over zealous in anticipating immediate results, but be ready to buckle on our armour and wear it for years to come. Those who are younger than I will go down to the grave before our purpose is secured. Your children, or your children's children may see the day when men will learn to distinguish between civil and religious obligations. Let us take care we do not mar our piety; we shall make a tremendous sacrifice, too great to be made, if we lose our devotedness to Christ, and suffer it to dissipate into the mean spirit of a political contest, especially as religion constitutes our strength. Therefore we do not sympathise with those who recommend us to carry questions of this sort into the pulpit; there I think our business is simple. We have to preach Christ, and him crucified, as with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. That we shall never be able to do if we suffer our piety to be marred, and our minds to be engrossed with ordinary engagements and pursuits. While we maintain our christian

ministerial character untouched, undefiled, and unmutated, we shall come down all the better prepared for our duties as men and citizens in the world around us. I am anxious we should renew our determination on these principles, and thus put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. I have great pleasure in proposing that the thanks of this meeting be presented to those gentlemen who have aided us in coming from a distance, and to our esteemed friend and brother Miall, who has presided on the present occasion.

Rev. J. GOADBY was sure it would be improper for him to say much. Every one must have been delighted at the impressive speeches which had been delivered. He hoped the principles would not be forgotten, they should be dear to the heart of every christian. He was not formerly so thorough-paced a convert to Mr. Miall's mode of proceeding, but was converted by the four alternatives offered to a person by the ecclesiastical court to get out of prison. He begged to second the resolution with all his heart.

Rev. — KELLY of Liverpool said, I have so much work before me that I must spare myself if I would do my duty. I am not the man to make false excuses serve me. I have done some service in my own locality, and I entirely concur in the majority of the observations that have been made this morning. I am attached to the principles advocated, and like our friend, have no anticipation of the speedy triumph of the principle. I do not believe that we shall be directly conquerors. The dissemination of right principles will make our opponents think, and, as the result of the agitation, the established church of this country will do as the established church of Scotland did, try to accomplish an impossible task, and, in the effort, will fall to pieces (hear, hear). We have first to deal with the religious men among our opponents. I believe many among them are men of conscience, principle, and sound piety. Our special business is to get hold of the consciences of those men, not to frighten them away from attending to the question. Let them argue on the question, they will be led, under the influence of reflection and conscience, to take a course they do not now apprehend. Let them see we are prepared for every sacrifice the cause of God demands of us and they will respect us. In this way we shall get them to think about what we are doing, and get them to attend to it. The time is coming in which they will be very glad of our help, to come in the spirit of brotherhood, which they now appear to have forsworn. With these views you will see the course I think it my duty to pursue. Disseminate your principles fully, plainly, in the spirit of christianity, and don't keep them out of the pulpit, brother Mursell. There are two ways of doing a thing. You may do it offensively, and in a way that is in unison with the intention of the pulpit, a way in which we shall be subserving the cause of the gospel and entwining our principles with the spirit of piety, and giving them strength. This course we are bound to pursue in the spirit of prayer and humility. Our bones may moulder in the grave, and the green grass may rise above us, but these principles will flourish for ever. I return my acknowledgments for the vote of thanks.

Rev. J. E. GILES said he begged to thank them for bringing him there; it had been a great treat to him. He thanked them for permitting him to see his friend John Childs, and William Baines. If Thorogood had been there his joy would have been full.

The CHAIRMAN said, I beg to unite in returning thanks for the kind expression of your feelings towards me this morning. I shall not detain you above a moment or two. I can myself bear witness to the effect of Mr. Kelly's labours on behalf of the voluntary church society in Liverpool. I found there, when wandering about the country to seek the establishment of the *Nonconformist*, what pleased and rejoiced my heart, a voluntary church society, animated with the highest spirit of zeal and ardently attached to the principles we profess. It was my happiness, not as a delegated representative of Leicester, still as a representative of the people of Leicester and their feelings, to give to the chairman of that society the right hand of fellowship. I am glad the visit has been exchanged. I am pleased that Mr. Kelly has had an opportunity of looking at Leicester, and believe he has not been frightened at the forward position we have taken up. It has not been our plan nor would it have been our wisdom to defend every step taken and every expression used by our friends, but we have testified sufficiently to the country our earnest practical attachment to the great principles of religious liberty. Men have no right to doubt us about that, we have given the most practical evidence that can be afforded of it; we have never shrunk from any sacrifice required of us. I identify myself with Leicester—my heart is here [applause]. The principles that are dear to Leicester are dear to me, I have seen their progression here. I have seen a great moral effect produced on the country at large by three or four individuals. It has given a turn to the great question which shall at last issue in victory over every obstacle. I think this has been the case at Leicester, and I rejoice that I have lived in the midst of it. I breathe the spirit of Leicester people, and am occupied in carrying out, in co-operation with them, those principles which I love with heart and soul, and mind and strength. I want friends. The *Nonconformist* wants friends. Identify it with the principles it was set up to establish, give to the thing its whole importance. It is a machine constituted for the purpose of effecting the separation of the church and the state. It looks a little thing, but truth is great and must prevail, and constantly hammered into the minds of people will produce some effect at last. Consider yourselves bound to assist it in the most efficient way, by getting people to read it, obtaining subscribers in various parts of the country, sending your own papers to those to whom you think it will do good; never mind parting with them. I sincerely respond in gratitude to the vote of thanks with which you have been pleased to honour me this morning. I esteem it the highest honour which I have hitherto enjoyed throughout life, to have taken a part in this great conflict, and especially to be identified in any way with the name of William Baines, as president of this meeting to offer him your congratulations.

Mr. MURSELL suggested the propriety of friends in the country rendering what assistance they could, and the meeting closed.

The church authorities in St. John's, Hackney, have issued a notice calling a vestry for to-morrow, at nine o'clock in the morning, "to rescind the resolution of the last vestry to adjourn the consideration of a church-rate for six months, and to print and circulate through the parish the churchwardens' accounts for the last year, with the resolution attached; and to make a rate for the necessary repairs of the church and churchyard, &c." We trust the opponents of the rate will again muster in such numbers as will convince the churchwardens of the utter uselessness of these vexatious proceedings.

On Tuesday last, according to announcement, the following articles, the property of Mr. John Aked, of Ellen Royd, Midgley, were sold on account of Mr. Aked's refusing to pay church-rates; viz., a quantity of new hay, one hide of leather, one hay-rope, one fork, one rake, one chair, and one book. The sale was not very numerously attended. The amount raised was 1*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*, about 7*s.* less than the amount of the rate demanded, and expenses of sale. Mr. Aked objected to the rate on account of its not being legally laid.

Four seizures for church-rates were made at Castle Donnington, Leicestershire, last week, from Messrs. Ellis, Farrand, Lloyd, and Bowman.

On Friday a general meeting of the inhabitant householders of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West was held, pursuant to printed notice, in the Inquest-room, for the purpose of making a churchwardens' rate for the current expenses of the present year. Mr. Churchwarden Meharey in the chair. The Chairman read an estimate of the probable expenses he should have to incur in the execution of his office, amounting to 520*l.*, and he had to ask this meeting to grant to him and his colleague a sixpenny rate. The office of churchwarden might appear a very pleasant one, but he could assure the meeting that he would not perform the duties again for 200*l.*—(A laugh.) A paper was then put in and read, signed by a large number of the most respectable householders, protesting against the making of any rate whatever, on the ground that there was sufficient money in the hands of the churchwarden for every necessary expense, without any new rate being constituted, and declaring, in the strongest terms, the determination of those whose names were attached, to resist by every legal means any attempt to enforce the payment of any rate which might be made at that meeting. Mr. Seely moved that "a rate of 6*d.* be now passed." Mr. Sloane (the late church warden) seconded the motion. He could assure those gentlemen who opposed the present rate that they would have to pay it all by and by. He had just come from Braintree, where a rate of 6*d.* had been passed. This rate many parishioners refused to pay, legal expenses were incurred by the parish, so that now a rate of 2*s.* was actually being levied under the authority of the bishop. Mr. Rees Price complained bitterly of the proceedings of the meeting, and was endeavouring to address the meeting, when the chairman proceeded to put the question of the rate. The hands on either side having been counted, the rate was declared to be carried by a majority of 18.

Last week the churchwardens of Bradford commenced the collection of the rate. Some of the inhabitants acceded to the demand; and others, who refused on conscientious grounds, were summoned to appear at the court-house on Wednesday, to show cause for such refusal. Mr. Garnett was the first person called on. Mr. Shaw of Leeds, appeared on behalf of the churchwardens, and made a lengthened statement in support of the legality of the rate; and, having called witnesses to prove that due notice was given to the defendants, Mr. Richardson, on their behalf, stated, that he should not enter into any discussion, as their course was exceedingly simple: they merely gave in a notice. Mr. Richardson then handed to the magistrates a notice, protesting against the church-rate as unscriptural and unjust; stating that it was not the intention of the party to contest the validity of the rate in the ecclesiastical courts, and that he should commence actions in the courts of common law against them (the magistrates) and all other persons concerned therein, for all acts and proceedings connected with the said rate, which he might be advised were illegal. The magistrates said they had no option; the rate must be enforced; and orders were made for payment. Mr. Richardson said they should not pay till compelled. The other cases against Messrs. R. Milligan, H. Forbes, N. Briggs, J. Tordoff, and J. Dale, were disposed of in a similar manner.

On Friday week, a meeting of the rate payers of Tiverton, was convened by public notice at St. Peter's Church, to consider the best mode to be adopted for raising the necessary funds to meet the expenses of the coming year. For eight years, there has been no church-rate there, but as, last Easter, the gentlemen who have held this office for some years, staunch friends to the voluntary principle, felt themselves under the necessity of retiring from the post, it was apprehended that the high church party would use their influence to alter the system which hitherto had worked so efficiently; it was, however, moved and seconded that Francis Hole, Esq., a county magistrate, and W. Talley, Esq., liberals, be elected churchwardens for the year, and the resolution was unanimously carried. It was then proposed by one of the churchwardens that a pew rent on a moderate scale be substituted for a rate—this was acceded to, and a considerable sum was promised by those who were present. Other gentlemen were to be waited on by a deputation, and no doubt was entertained that a sufficient sum would be raised annually to cover all expenses. About two months since, some thieves broke into the church and carried off the plate, worth from 100*l.* to 150*l.*; and as the purchase of the plate for the communion service has been usually supplied by a rate, it was thought that the churchwardens could be compelled to act upon the compulsory principle in this instance. Many staunch friends, however, immediately came forward with handsome subscriptions, quite sufficient to replace the service of plate.

The church at Foxton, near Harboro', is about to be re-pewed. How to provide the ways and means has been for some time a subject of grave consideration. It was first proposed that a rate of 6*d.* in the pound should be laid; but this was objected to by some who are not at all unfriendly to the church, though not of her communion. The Rev. Mr. Humfrey, the officiating minister, engaged to raise the amount of a rate (about 80*l.*) from gentlemen in the neighbourhood, provided an equal amount could be raised by a rate or subscription in the parish. The subscription system was tried, but the promises did not reach more than half the amount: it was then resolved to lay a rate of 6*d.* in the pound, and it was agreed that those parishioners who had promised a sum equal to or exceeding the amount of their proportion of the rate, should not be required to pay the tax, but carry out their voluntary principle. The clergyman next attempted to raise the amount which he had promised to procure: he began with a liberal subscription in his own name, and several owners of property in the parish gave liberally: application was of course made to the largest possessors, the chief of whom is the Rev. — Corrance, of Great Glenn, who is in possession of a large amount of church property in the parish: and, will it be believed? this gentleman refuses, after repeated solicitations, to contribute to the object to accomplish which the half-famished poor are compelled to pay an iniquitous tax. This "ensample" will however, be no gainer by his close-fistedness, as he will be compelled to repair the chancel, which, had he acted liberally, would have been included in the general expense. It would be interesting to know what amount of cash this reverend gentleman extracts annually from the parish.—*Stamford Mercury*.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PRESS.

(Church Intelligencer.)

In recurring to the article of the *Nonconformist*, which afforded matter for a little discussion last week, we select the following passage:—"The separation of church and state includes the resumption, for civil purposes, of all national funds now set apart for the religious instruction of the people, the abolition of all privileges now connected with the profession of the authorised creed, and the repeal of all statutes, or portions of statutes, which empower the civil magistrate to wield his authority in support of any religious opinions whatever."

We have already shown, that, in designating the property of the church "national funds"—funds given to the church by the state—our contemporary does not manifest the possession of quite all the information and wisdom in the world; and with regard to his bold advocacy of "the abolition of all privileges now connected with the profession of the authorised creed," one would naturally expect such a writer to practice what he preaches, and that dissent and the teachers of it would religiously—conscientiously, we should say—reject all "privileges connected with the profession of the" dissenting "creed," if there be such a thing. But how stands the fact? Mr. Binney, a well-known teacher of dissent, shall give the reply. To a dissenter, in "Two Letters by Fiat Justitia," page 102, Mr. Binney says,—"Your ministers do not refuse every government or political indulgence; they accept of exemption from military duty, and from serving on inquests and juries; and they are right: it is of immense advantage that, free from such secular calls, they may 'give themselves entirely to the word of God, and to prayer;' but where is the theory strictly kept to that, what business has the government to know them as ministers—or as anything but Englishmen?" This is unanswerable, convicting as it does the teachers of dissent of palpable inconsistency. Dissenting meeting-houses are moreover, under certain conditions, exempt from taxation; and their preachers also in passing to them exempt from the payment of toll; and, if they keep riding horses, they are also exempt from payment of the duty. But, with Mr. Binney, we ask where is the dissenting theory all the while? Where is the consistency of dissenters in advocating "the abolition of all privileges connected with the profession of the authorised creed," while they are themselves in the enjoyment of state privileges? Alas! what a selfish, and therefore what an inconsistent, being is man?

But perhaps we have not "a distinct conception" of our contemporary's meaning. Taking his language in its proper sense, he only objects to "privileges connected with the profession of the authorised creed;" while he does not express the slightest objection to "privileges connected with" his own "creed." Dissenters have occasionally been accused of being influenced by sinister motives in demanding the consecration of the tithes and other endowments of the church; and if they wish not to subject themselves to any such suspicions, they should express themselves with greater precision. We thus speak, because the succeeding language of our contemporary would seem to indicate the absence of all interested motives on his part. For he pleads for "the repeal of all statutes, or portions of statutes, which empower the civil magistrate to wield his authority in support of any religious opinions whatever." This would of course include the repeal of the statutes exempting the teachers of dissent from military duty, inquests, and juries, and from the payment of tolls and saddle-horse taxes, which are in fact government grants in favour of dissent. If a teacher of dissent, who keeps a riding-horse, is exempted by the state from the payment of the tax of one pound eight shillings and nine pence a-year, that is just giving that teacher a government or state grant to that amount. And as it is given to him in his capacity of a teacher of dissent, it is virtually, and to all intents and purposes, a state grant to dissent. The amount may be small; but as the dissenters say, in reference to the trifling amount of church-rates which some of them have to pay, and about which they raise such an unchristian clamour, it is not the amount but the principle that we look at. If there be altogether 3000 teachers of dissent in the British dominions, and only one-fourth of them keep riding-horses, the taxes from which the government exempts them amount to more than a thousand pounds per annum; that is to, the state gives to dissent, under this single item, above a thousand pounds a-year. And the principle being thus conceded, we shall be glad to be informed where in principle the difference is, between a thousand pounds a-year, and twenty thousands, or between twenty thousands and twenty millions? It must not, however, be supposed, from our mode of arguing, that we admit that the state gave the church the property which she possesses; for the state did no such thing, and we trust that we shall never admit what is not true. Nor must it be concluded on the other hand that we think it not right for the state to give money towards the promotion of religion in the land; for we believe there is scarcely any truth more clear than this,—that it is the bounden duty of the state to supply the church with all the funds she may require to propagate the truth of God amongst all its subjects.

If we were not pretty well acquainted with the inconsistency of human nature, we should be utterly surprised at the *Nonconformist* stating that the "civil magistrate" ought not to "wield his authority in support of any religion whatever;" for it is a notorious fact that the dissenters make no scruple at all in requesting the "civil magistrate to wield his authority in support of" their religion whenever they cannot settle their quarrels amongst themselves. Of this, their appeal to the "civil magistrate," in the dispute about Lady Hewley's charity, is one incontrovertible proof amongst many. If any person should disturb them in the exercise of their religion, moreover, they will soon let him feel the full weight of the authority of the "civil magistrate" upon his luckless head. It is really preposterous to hear dissenters talking in this way; as though, forsooth, everybody, but themselves, were blindly ignorant of their proceedings.

It is due to the *Nonconformist* to state that he would have the rights of patrons respected; and would allow the present clergy to possess their incomes during their lives. He also says: "Considerable property belongs of right to the episcopalian sect, as a distinct body. Endowments have been made and property bequeathed, for the especial object of promulgating the doctrines of the book of common prayer. Separation, as we understand it, would not affect the application of these funds." Very well; but what other funds, to any amount, does the church possess? What are tithes but "endowments,"—"property bequeathed," for the express purpose of "promulgating the doctrines of the book of common prayer;" in other words, the doctrines of the christian and catholic faith which that book contains? The *Eclectic Review*, a violent dissenting periodical, is constrained to say:—"The church of England, it cannot be denied, professes the life-giving doctrines of the gospel; favours every great principle rescued from Rome by the reformers; and puts into the lips of the people a language of devotion unrivalled in majesty, beauty, propriety, and comprehension."

"But," says our contemporary, "the present ecclesiastical system is a thorn in the sides of the state." "A wen upon the otherwise vigorous frame of christianity, diverting into an unnatural and unsightly excretion the vital fluids which would else impart bloom to the countenance, strength to the muscles, and vivacity to the spirits of the church of Christ." All this is mere declamation and rant, without either argument or truth about it, and is what no professedly christian or moral man ought to write. But if the church has been, in Mr. Binney's words, such an "obstacle to the progress of truth and godliness in the land"—which simply means that it has been a great obstacle to the progress of dissent—how is it that the voluntary principle has not given far better evidence of its pretended efficiency? Look at the parish of Bethnal Green, for example, with its fifty thousand souls, and with church room for only about four thousand; and what has dissent done for the destitute thousands there? The church has certainly been no obstacle there, and dissent has had a fair field for the development of its strength and energies; and what is the result? Why, the "voluntary principle" has voluntarily left them to perish for lack of knowledge; as it would have done millions of others also, but for the presence, the labours, and blessing of the church.

Although we have above bestowed some little attention upon the *Nonconformist*, we must have a word or two in reply to an article in its last number, stating its belief that "the Church Intelligencer is started as the antagonist of the *Nonconformist*." But some hundreds of our subscribers are aware that they gave their orders for the *Church Intelligencer* long before the *Nonconformist* was heard of. And our contemporary must not look upon us as exclusively his antagonist; for we shall make a few quiet observations upon him, or upon anybody, or anything else, either continuously or desultorily, just as we may think most conducive to the cause of truth and godliness in the land. And although we are always glad of advice, as something may generally be learned therefrom, and sometimes what the adviser least intended; yet the *Nonconformist* might have spared himself both his advice and his threats. "Before fighting," he says, "we wish to shake hands, and, in the most friendly spirit, offer our adversary a word or two of counsel. We seriously advise him not to insist largely upon the exclusive spiritual authority of the state church clergy [a sore subject we know], nor upon their sacredness, as a class; because such a course may compel us, in defence of our own principles, to handle a great many facts which savour of anything rather than clerical spirituality, and fitness for office."

Now, in the first place, we certainly shall not "fight" with the *Nonconformist* in his sense of the word, and therefore we decline his preliminary *manus jungere*. As for his threat, "to handle a great many facts which savour of anything rather than clerical spirituality," if we "insist largely upon the exclusive spiritual authority of the clergy," we beg to tell him that no threat whatever, even if backed by the whole host

of the Philistines, will have any effect upon us. We shall pursue our course firmly and fearlessly, but coolly and quietly. Nor shall we descend to the employment of such weapons as *Nonconformist* threatens to use; and had we been in his place, we should have hesitated some time before we had so far exposed the weakness of our cause. And we would, in turn, advise our contemporary to be a little more cautious in this respect, for we once saw in a book, of which he knows something, what might turn out to be a rather awkward challenge on this head; and though we will not meet him, somebody else might, and easily discomfit him too. Would dissent stand, if tried by such a test? And does he really think the immorality of Judas a good argument against the truth of Christianity?

But thus runs our contemporary's advice to us:—

"We suggest, moreover, that he should be as shy as possible of imputing the seal of dissenters against establishments to their desire to participate in its wealth, because that may possibly reveal the secret, which it would be as well for the clergy to hide, that, in their estimation, earnest movements can only be accounted for, by the hopes of gain." This is a curious sentence altogether, and a fair specimen of the writing of dissenters. The very desire thus manifested of parrying off such an imputation would impress some people with a firm belief that it would be by no means misdirected. And although the dissenting teachers might not participate in the wealth of the church, on her separation from the state, we can see quite far enough into the effects of any such separation to understand that the teachers of dissent may expect to benefit very largely in a pecuniary point of view. We believe, however, that they would be miserably disappointed in all their anticipations, if even the separation were effected to the utmost extent of their avowals, or even of their wishes. But the *Nonconformist* actually says, though he evidently does not mean it, that the dissenters have a desire to participate in the wealth of the church. He says we are not to impute their real "to their desire"—thus admitting in the word *their* that they have such a desire—and all that he wishes us to do is not to impute their zeal to it. Again he says that if the clergy should do so, it may "reveal the secret, that in their estimation earnest movements can only be accounted for by the hopes of gain." Now the clergy have been long openly, boldly, and constantly accused by the dissenters of being moved, as well earnestly as otherwise by the hope of gain; and of regarding nothing but the leaves and fishes. But the *Nonconformist* now distinctly tells us that all such accusations are entirely unfounded, made without any facts or knowledge to ground them upon, and are mere suppositions, inventions, or fabrications of the dissenters themselves; inasmuch as whether the clergy be thus actuated or not, our contemporary declares to be, even at the present moment, quite a "secret"—"a secret" which he advises us not to "reveal." These dissenters really make a sad hand of themselves by their unsound and loose manner of arguing—if arguing it can be called.

But further, how does the *Nonconformist* say that the clergy may "reveal the secret," that their movements are instigated by the hopes of gain? Why, by imputing such motives to the dissenters. Then, by parity of reasoning, it inevitably follows, that, by imputing to the clergy a care for nothing but the leaves and fishes, the dissenting teachers have openly "revealed the secret," that their own "movements" can only be accounted for by the hopes of gain.

Now this is giving Mr. *Nonconformist* a little practical advice; and showing him how effectually his own weapons may be used against himself. It is bad to write without due consideration, but it is much worse to have—as we hope our contemporary will soon feel that he has,—a bad cause to defend.

The remainder of the *Nonconformist's* advice to us is in the following words:—"And lastly, the less that is said about popery the better, for every expression of indignant horror at the papal system tells powerfully against that church, in which all the worst principles of popery are cherished, and most of its doctrines retained." In sober truth, can this passage have been written by anybody, but an arrant papist? "The less we say about popery the better!" Why, churchmen have been unmercifully abused by the dissenters for not saying much more about popery than they have said. At all events, if "every expression of indignant horror at the papal system tells powerfully against" those who utter it, the dissenters seem fully determined not to be guilty of such indiscretion; for it is remarkable how silent they all are about popery at the present time. When our contemporary says that "all the worst principles of popery are cherished, and most of its doctrines retained" in the church, he says that which we could prove to be utterly false by numerous quotations from the writings of dissenters themselves. And bad as the church may be in his estimation, he might greatly profit by attending her services, and obeying one of the commandments which she directs to be solemnly declared every Sunday morning to all her assembled children:—"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

Mr. Shaw Lefevre is appointed a commissioner of emigration, without salary, thereby effecting a saving of 1,000*l.* per annum, as it is not intended to continue more than two salaried commissioners.

The *Herald* announces the following list of the new tory government:—First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer—Sir Robert Peel. First Lord of the Admiralty—His Grace the Duke of Buckingham. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—The Earl of Aberdeen. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—Lord Wharncliffe. Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department—Right Hon. Henry Goulburn. Lord High Chancellor of England—Sir William Follett. Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies—Right Hon. Lord Stanley. President of the Council—His Grace the Duke of Wellington. The Speaker of the House of Commons—The Right Hon. C. Shaw Lefevre (whose re-election it is said not to be intended to oppose). Secretary for Ireland—The Right Hon. Sir H. Hardinge. Other officers of state. The Lord High Chamberlain—His Grace the Duke of Beaufort. The Lord High Steward—The Earl of Liverpool. The Master of the Horse—The Earl of Jersey. Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris—Lord Lyndhurst.

Lord Howick broke up the whole of his domestic establishment on Saturday last. It is understood that his Lordship has made arrangements to spend the remainder of the summer and the autumn on the continent. A seat in the Commons is not at present the object of the noble Lord's wishes.—*Newcastle Journal*.

On Tuesday evening week at five o'clock, at Minto-house, near Hawick, North Britain, Lord J. Russell, M.P., secretary of state for the colonial department, was married by special license to Lady Frances Anna Maria Elliot, second daughter of the Earl and Countess of Minto. The Rev. Gilbert Elliot officiated at the ceremony, in the presence of a select circle of relatives, comprising the Earl and Countess of Minto, Lord and Lady Dunfermline, Lord Edward Russell, Lord Melgund, Lady Elizabeth Elliot, Hon. Admiral George Elliot, Captain Elliot, &c. The Earl of Minto gave the bride away, and the Misses Richardsons were the bridesmaids. The noble lord and lady started about six o'clock for Bowhill, the seat of the Duke of Beccleugh, near Selkirk, where they purpose residing until the second week in the ensuing month. A grand ball was given by the Earl and Countess of Minto, to the family tenantry, to which nearly 300 were invited. A sumptuous *fete* was also given on the lawn, to the poorer tenantry.

Letters from Vienna state that several third and fourth-rate houses, among which is that of J. W. Thomann and Co., of Venice, have stopped payment. Other disasters are expected. The *Post Ami Gazette*, 15th instant, mentions the failure of the banking house of P. Belonni, for three million of florins (7,500,000 fr.). A fall in the funds had been the consequence.

Government has, on the recommendation of Sir W. Colebrook, the recently appointed governor of New Brunswick, entered into a contract for the running a steam-packet weekly from Liverpool to Halifax, and vice versa, during eight months of the year. This is a step of the highest importance to the British provinces of North America.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In consequence of the press of matter we have been compelled again to omit our usual literary notices, and for the same reason defer until next week an acknowledgment of publications received.

A. J. P. must be more precise in his address. A letter directed to him by post, as he wishes, could not by any possibility find him.

J. C. will oblige us by the communications he has promised.

L. T. must stand over until our next, his other communications have been received.

We respectfully request our country friends, in all possible cases, to give their orders to the news agents in their respective localities; where this is impracticable, the better way is to send the amount of subscription (26s. per annum) by post-office order, direct to the office, which will secure the regular transmission of the paper to their address.

Terms for advertising in the <i>Nonconformist</i> .					
For 8 lines	5s. 0d.	For 16 lines ...	7 0	For 24 lines ...	9 0
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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1841.

THE ULTIMATE DESIGN OF CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT.

"WHAT FOR?" is a question which has special virtue in it—it is the watchword of reason. It is the challenge given by the mind on its guard, as the test of discrimination between friend and foe. It is the simple and manly expression of intelligence peering beneath the mere surface of things, and seeking acquaintance with the spirit of which they are only the outward and substantial embodiment. It is the very household word of philosophy, serviceable on all occasions—serviceable especially, in times of great political changes.

We would not desire a more efficient power brought to bear against the confidently-expected, virtually-existent government, than the general use by the people of the little and seemingly insignificant question, "what for?" What are the Tories coming into power to do? What design do they propose to themselves to accomplish? What goal do they intend to drive at?

Far more useful would it be to push home enquiries in this direction, than to speculate upon the probable *personel* of the new ministry, or upon the class of measures they will be likely to propose. The men who will constitute the next cabinet will be but the agents, the measures they will submit to parliament will be but the means, to carry out some ultimate design. To judge aright of either, that design must be distinctly apprehended, and constantly kept in view.

Sir Robert Peel, then, with his party, takes office with the avowed object of maintaining privileges against rights.

To make the most of labour—to employ industry and skill to the best advantage—to take the produce of it to the highest market—to purchase subsistence and raw material at the lowest, is a right—the right of all men. It is simply doing the best we can for ourselves, without encroaching upon the just liberties of others. On the other hand, to set up a market, and compel men for our advantage to resort to it—to make what is theirs, by a process of compulsion dignified by the name of law, subservient to our gain through their loss—to take toll of their industry, until industry ceases to avail for their subsistence, because we have the power and the sword of civil magistracy—is privilege—the enjoyment of the few at the expense of the many. Right and privilege thus explained, have come into collision—and the conservatives come into power to uphold the last against the first. Government is now to be carried on, avowedly, for the benefit of a class, not for the welfare of the people. The end of law is to be the conservation of aristocratic extravagance.

Suppose a yard, common to many houses, to contain one pump. A good supply of water is essential to the comforts of the families around. It belongs to some descendant of a man, who claimed it as his property years ago, and whose claim the fears of his neighbours compelled them to admit. It affords but a scanty allowance for the inhabitants of the surrounding houses, and the inadequacy of supply enables the owner to put upon it a higher price. There are plenty of pumps over the way, at which water might be had in abundance at a reasonable cost. But the owner of this has a man servant, and a pistol, and he stations the former in the entry, armed with the latter, to shoot the first man who presumes to have water from any pump but his. This is just the system which the Tories mean to enforce. The nation must fetch water from their pump, although from the scantiness of the supply, and the high price demanded, hundreds of thousands can scarcely wet their lips. But they have got the man servant and the pistol. Their injustice is protected and enforced by the army and gunpowder. The Whigs, who have a share in the spoil, stand by and say that the Tories must not be harassed by vexatious opposition.

This is the undisguised and unvarnished truth of the whole matter. The conservatives take the government to enable one class to profit at the expense of the rights of another class, and that by far the most numerous one. Their accession to office is simply having the pistol put into their hands, that they may guard the entry, lest pining wretches should resort to the pumps on the other side of the road—in other words, it is having the army, the navy, the magistracy, the bench, and the law under their command, to compel the people to submit to an unjust and cruel violation of their rights.

Many things will no doubt be done to amuse the country—many efforts made to conceal the ultimate design of the proximate administration. But the appetites of nature are importunate suitors, and

pinching hunger renders men but surly recipients of any favours but food. The nation is hardly likely to be cajoled out of its growing sense of distress.

The prospect of Sir Robert is anything but a bright one. He wages war with nature and necessity. Flatterers have persuaded this modern Canute to set his chair upon the beach of the political ocean, and bid the tide cease to flow. Like his prototype he commands an impossibility—like him, he is destined to have his folly practically and unceremoniously rebuked. The tide will continue to rise, cannot but rise—obeying the natural and unchangeable laws which govern its movements. When the surges dash around the seat of the honourable baronet, he will be convinced, we suppose, that there is something in the universe of mind with which office cannot cope, and that the will of a great nation, braced up for action by necessity, is more than a match for powder and shot.

THE EDUCATIONAL SUFFRAGE FALLACY.

It is the interest of every class that the producing class should be elevated in the political scale, for that would tend immediately to their moral and religious elevation; all the other classes would treat them of necessity as men to be considered, and that would induce the cultivation of those qualities and observances by which the esteem of others is won. Self respect grows out of equal rights. The debasing influence of slavery is most manifest in the form of personal slavery, but it attends in degree upon all forms of inequality in rights. If men enjoyed the suffrage, all classes would be anxious and instant in their efforts to educate them, not only in the beggarly elements taught in the Church of England charity schools where they badge their children as paupers, but in the acquisition of the knowledge of rights which teaches duties, though the teaching of duties alone does not teach rights but subserviency.

It is an error to make education a prerequisite to the suffrage. If it were enacted that all men should have a vote, the impulse that would be given to education would be irresistible, for it would make it the interest of the possessor of wealth and influence to set about it in earnest and immediately, and they would remove all obstructions. The religious would not grant or permit, if granted, a monopoly of the scriptures; the politician would not stamp the newspaper or excise paper; the clergy would not insist upon the right to stereotype his creed upon the mind of the child, as the condition of teaching him to read and write; and all the have-somethings would be earnest to impart knowledge, that all might see their interest in supporting the rights and property of each.

The truth is, that the educational suffrage theory, is a fallacy, greatly dangerous because very specious. It proceeds from men who want faith in human nature and its author, who fear to trust themselves to its sympathies and affections. Their apprehensions arise from the same sentiments and fears which in a slave country produces the brutal yet trembling slave traders and planters.

The religious and the abolitionist in this country, removed from the atmosphere of those who are cursed with the aristocracy of skin, may doubt whether they are influenced by the same fears as the slave owner, but on reflection they will see that their fears originate in the same want of reverence for God's image in his reasoning creatures. They are weak in the faith that God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth; that our heavenly father is no respecter of persons; and in the noble spirit which animated Paul to assert his rights as a citizen.

A WORD MORE WITH "THE SPECTATOR."

A SECOND article in the *Spectator*, denouncing in yet stronger terms than that upon which we briefly commented last week, the proposed ministerial conference at Manchester, lays us under obligation again to enter our protest against the views it has thought proper to express. "In sorrow, not in anger," we have seen these effusions of, what appears to us, bitter prejudice against a class whom the *Spectator* does not understand. We are not amongst those who detect sinister intentions in this paper, the moment, forsooth, that it leaves the beaten track of party. The inconsistency usually charged upon it, is just, in our estimation, the inconsistency of abiding by fixed principles when all political sections are shifting their position. Those who have embarked with the Whigs may easily persuade themselves, as their boat silently floats down with the tide, that the objects on shore, abreast of which they found themselves some time since, have changed their position, forgetful that the change of place is in themselves. We frankly admit, what we are aware will be unpalatable to some of our readers, that in the progress of events, as mists have gradually cleared off, the *Spectator*, supposed by many to have lost his way, has been found to have seen further ahead than those who raised a clamour about his treachery to the cause. Its judgment on most political matters strikes us as cool, unimpassioned, intelligent, and honest—and we have no hesitation in giving avowal to our opinion, that it is the ablest political instructor of the present day.

But it behoves the *Spectator* to bear in mind, that there is a vanity of being reputed independent, which undermines independence itself—that men may be betrayed into giving an unjust verdict, as well by the desire of standing apart from the multitude, as by a disposition to think just as other men think—and that it is quite possible unconsciously to fall into the habit of Warburton, whose indiscriminate attacks upon friend and foe induced Coleridge to say of his "divine legation," that it reminded him of the passage in scripture, "and if so much as a beast touch the mountain it shall be stoned, or thrust through with a dart."

The *Spectator*, however, in the present case sets up a man of straw, as it should seem, for the simple pleasure of knocking it down again. He talks of dissenting ministers as proposing to open

a clerical battery against the advocates of the corn laws, anticipates the use of garbled and misapplied quotations from scripture, and hears in imagination nothing but denunciations in the place of hard-headed reasoning. He takes it for granted that they who will compose the convention will "turn out to be quibbling and unfair, declamatory and vituperative." With all deference, we beg to submit, that logic is not necessarily the exclusive endowment of the *Spectator*. We believe we know the class thus unnecessarily traduced much better than he—are better acquainted with their habits—their opportunities for treasuring up information—their general modes of thought—and even their infirmities. And we anticipate as the result of the conference anything but denunciation—anything but a blind unreasoning condemnation of those who uphold the present system of monopoly.

"If," says the *Spectator*, "the supporters of the corn-laws advocated them, knowing—believing them to be calculated to impoverish the community and distress the poor, they would be fair objects for the clerical battery proposed to be opened upon them." Does the *Spectator* imagine that the ministers have no other end in view than to hurl anathemas at corn-law advocates? or does he imagine, that they who profit by an exclusive privilege at the expense of the community, will ever be convinced by hard-headed reasoning that the time is come for them to resign it? Were the West-Indian planters converted by logic? or was reform wrung from the tories by argumentation? The *Spectator* must be aware that hundreds of thousands who have been convinced by the arguments of the anti-corn-law league, that the present system of monopoly tends to impoverish the people, require to be roused into active and united effort to secure the end in view. Other views of the subject than the purely economical ones, with which they are already conversant, are necessary to overcome their natural *vis inertiae*. It is upon the thinking, not upon the interested classes—upon those who care for the moral and religious welfare of the people, rather than upon those who profit by monopoly, that an effect is sought to be produced. There are phenomena, arising out of the present system, which have never yet been fully brought out, which none but ministers of the gospel can fully bring out, and which when brought out are calculated to give an aspect of still higher importance to the whole question.

The political branch of the question has been settled, to the conviction of myriads, by the statements and reasonings of the anti-corn-law league. By those statements and reasonings dissenting ministers among others have been convinced. If then they find, that owing to a general want of employment, traceable as they believe to the operation of impolitic and unjust restrictions upon commerce, all the great benevolent and religious institutions, which in their estimation have done so much to ameliorate the wretchedness of mankind, are sinking and suffering—if they feel that upon the working classes christianity, because identified by the state church with the oppressions of the aristocracy, has lost its hold—if they, using their common sense, adopt the conclusion that abject want indisposes its victims to listen to spiritual truth—by what law, custom, or propriety are they forbidden from assembling together, and after grave discussion, presenting this view of the question to the world? The anti-corn-law league has undertaken to prove the first step in the argument, that general want of employment is produced by the present corn-laws. Dissenting ministers, starting from this point, reason out by facts and illustrations a further conclusion—that when want of employment becomes general religion and religious institutions, the objects of their especial care, lamentably decline. Why should they not supply this further link in the chain? Where is "the desecration of religion" in this? How can it be made to appear as "an unfair and disreputable substitute for reasoning"? Let the *Spectator* who seems to pride himself on his logical acumen, point it out to us, instead of dealing in ill-natured assumptions, and then denouncing the evils which he has assumed.

The sneering tone of the whole article in question is peculiarly offensive. The great body of dissenting ministers deserve other treatment than this at the hands of men professing to love "the cause of rational politics and true religion." Their fault has certainly not been that of meddling in secular affairs. They are not election agents, as the established clergy very generally are. But by quiet conversation, by the inculcation of sound principles, by the influence which well-informed minds, conjoined with wisdom and meekness, always exert upon society around them, they have quietly done more during the past twenty years to advance the liberty of the people, and fit them for the sober use of it, than any other class of men in the empire. The *Spectator* may shut his eyes to the fact—but cannot make it other than it is. Sneers must not be mistaken for logic.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S ADDRESS.

THE principal political circumstance of the past week is Lord John Russell's address to his constituents.

It confirms from his pen the important truth that the aristocracy view their class interest as immensely more important than their sectional interests. They are wise in their generation.

It is an endeavour by putting the tub in a new light to make the whale follow, if he will not swallow it.

The whig section of the class had hoped to throw out with success a moderate fixed duty, and had the whale engulfed it, to have floated on for another long period—they would have allowed the tories to have fixed it high enough.

Not being successful, true to his class and to his section, Lord John avoids anything definite, and says to the people—

"It would be inconsistent with my notions of public duty to harass the government of the day by vexatious opposition; still less to deny to the

Crown the means of maintaining the reputation of the country abroad, and internal quiet at home."

Who had asked him to harass and be vexatious? This is a false assumption of the class mendacious, which enables him to say under its veil what he could not say openly, namely, that the class interest must be kept intact. He proceeds—

"But when the great principles of religious, civil, and commercial liberty come into question, those principles must be firmly and fearlessly supported. Whatever party may be in power, they are so inseparably connected with the progress of society, that, although the country may doubt, may pause, may ponder, it will examine, discuss, and finally adopt them."

Why not pledge himself to these principles—why content himself with enumerating these mere truisms?

"But for the attainment of this object it is necessary to be vigilant and united—to oppose zeal to zeal—to watch minute details as well as to maintain great principles; in short, to exert for a great and salutary end, the same untiring activity which has been exhibited in a more questionable cause."

Be united to the whigs is here meant. What will follow if we do that? Having been handed to the tories by virtue of our former credence, we shall be riveted as the slaves of the class as the reward of our senseless attachment to the section.

Now look back at the whole address, and see what can be discovered more than this. The tories have let us enjoy the pleasures of patronage for ten years, with merely occasional field days of talk, we allowing them the patronage of the army, and a fair share of the church and the colonies, and we intend that they shall have a full income to distribute amongst the class, and keep down the people.

The aristocracy invariably, when they speak of fleecing the people for their own behoof, use the name of the Crown to accomplish their end. Mark the "noble lord's" language. He will not "deny to the Crown the means of maintaining the reputation of the country, and internal quiet at home." When the present translation of the scriptures was made by order of King James, the translators were directed not to translate the old ecclesiastical words, "as the word church, not to be translated congregation," so amongst our aristocratic politicians there is a tacit convention not to translate the old words of delusion. The paragraph should be translated thus:—"I will not deny to the aristocracy [the word crown here is an evasion] the means of maintaining the reputation of the people abroad, [the word country in this connection is a blind term, unless it means the people. What is the use of a reputation, if he enables the tories to starve them?] nor the means of preserving internal quiet at home. [Nor the means of paying 90,000 soldiers to enable the aristocracy to pocket the great prizes in the army, and convince the people of the blessings of their paternal government and truthful anxiety to give the people equal laws.]"

Now this is said after twenty-seven years of peace, by a man who has been for ten years in power, who entered upon the possession of that power under promises to give the people triennial parliaments and the ballot, who published to that people, in parliament, that those two measures were the wings to the reform bill, which he had only postponed for the purpose of convenience in advocacy, but whose party, as soon as they were in power, commenced crawling backward from their professions, declared this first step of theirs to be a final step, and that they intended to make the landed interest predominant, to all of which he was assenting.

The people having no longer responded to men who had so frequently befooled them, he now tells them, in a paper which his twaddling and senseless followers have chosen to characterize as a state paper, that "when the great questions of religious, civil, and commercial liberty come into question, those principles must be firmly and fearlessly supported." What is there here but mere truisms? To what does he pledge himself? As an aristocrat he has taken care to precede this by a pledge not to harass the tories: this pledge, mind, is volunteered, and is intended to repress any expectation that he will act as well as talk. His phrase is, "not to harass her Majesty's government;" but men are not weak enough now to be blinded by such phrases. He is speaking of and to tories, who have harassed and are to harass the country, and this is a sign of the convention. But though he volunteers this declaration to his aristocratic cousins, he is careful not to pledge himself to anything as a reformer. He strings together allusions and generalisms in a way to make men think he says something. He says that the principles of religious, civil, and commercial liberty are so inseparably connected with the progress of society that they must be finally adopted. Thank you, Lord John, for enunciating a truth which everybody knew as well as you, but for which the people, for anything you promise them to do, must look to themselves, and not to you and your party.

Still less can they look for aid from the other section of the aristocracy, and this brings us to our conclusion—rely not upon either section of the aristocracy.

The day is breaking when the two sections will no longer be permitted to play at shuttlecock with the interests of a great nation. The people reflect upon the expense, suspension of trade, and distress, this election agitation for mere party purposes produces.

They have now knowledge enough, and the press has supplied them with the means of looking back through history into the principles by which the aristocracy have gained and maintained their Sindbad seat on the shoulders of society. They perceive that that seat was first gained by force, and has since the reformation been maintained by fraud.

The reformation—the rebellion of Charles the first against the people—the Commonwealth men—the English, the American, and the French revolutions—have taught the people politics through suffering; and the fiscal legislation of the aristocracy, ending in

prohibiting food and enacting starvation, has advanced them considerably in political economy.

It is pleasing to the friends of peace and education, and of reform without violence, to remark that the best educated among the chartists are themselves the advocates of peaceful reform; that, much as society has suffered from the hands of the aristocracy, the people perceive that they are but the creatures of the circumstances in which they are placed, of the selfish exclusiveness which those circumstances necessarily produce upon the beings placed in them; that they are not to quarrel with the effects, but to look at the causes; that it is useless to storm at results if they do not remedy those causes; and that whilst government is in the hands of but a few, the interests of that few will predominate.

Lord John cannot fail to have seen, during this election, the injurious consequences flowing from the fact that the masses are not represented, and that those who possess the franchise cannot freely exercise it; yet he says not a word about organic change. He is true to "his order," and one great good which this address of his will effect is, that sincere reformers will be true to theirs, and spread the conviction that her majesty's government must be selected from her people, and not from a distinct class only.

Even the leading organ of the party has let this truth slip from its pen—very injudiciously, seeing that it is still so bound to the whigs as to call this compound of small boastings and vagueness a state paper!—even the *Morning Chronicle* lets slip the necessity for organic change, and passes involuntarily the compliment of far-sightedness to the chartists, and condemnation on its own idols. Thus says its editor on the 16th of June—

"The chartists have proved themselves more accurate calculators than the middle classes. Whether their nostrum would have mended matters is not now the question; but the result has shown that they were correct in their opinion, that in the present state of the representation it was vain to think of a repeal of the corn monopoly."

Yet their oracle says not a word of the necessity for organic change, but worships Lord John and glorifies this "state paper."

Lord John and the whigs have given us a representation with which, so says the *Chronicle*, taught by the "nostrum" mongers the chartists, it is vain to think of a repeal of the corn monopoly. Yet, says the *Chronicle*—"follow the whigs." We say, avoid the aristocracy as statesmen.

SUMMARY.

THE week has been barren of news. The elections having terminated, we naturally enough experience a lull. In the world of secular politics, the address of Lord John Russell stands prominent—in that of religious politics, the projected conference of dissenting ministers at Manchester, and the meeting held at Leicester to congratulate Mr. William Baines, engross attention. Of Lord John's manifesto we have elsewhere spoken, and can only here express our astonishment that the vague generalities it contains placed side by side with his recent course, should catch so many sound reformers. The tory press rings with denunciations of the proposed meeting at Manchester—a manifest proof to us that it will be serviceable to the cause of commercial freedom. We ask no better proof of the efficiency, and therefore, wisdom of movements having for their object the liberties of an oppressed and starving people, than the violent condemnation of the conservative party. They hate most bitterly that which promises to touch their privileges most nearly. Sir R. Peel it is said, anxious to escape the importunities of hungry expectants of office, has set off for the continent—and here ends the meagre summary for the week.

The Queen and Prince Albert, escorted by a party of the 11th, under the command of Lieutenant Forrest, left the Castle at twenty minutes past one o'clock on Monday, for the seat of the Duke of Bedford, Woburn Abbey. The equeries in waiting, Colonel Buckley and Colonel Bouverie, occupied the next carriage, and another carriage and four conveyed the Dowager Lady Lytton, Lady in waiting, Hon. Miss Sarah Mary Cavendish, Maid of Honour in waiting, Marquis of Headfort, Lord in waiting, and Mr. George Edward Anson, Treasurer to Prince Albert.

Her Majesty and the Prince are expected to remain at Woburn Abbey until Thursday morning, when they will proceed to Panshanger, Herts, to honour the Earl and Countess Cowper with a visit. On the following (Friday) morning, the Royal party will honour Viscount Melbourne with a visit at his seat, Brocket Hall, Herts, to partake of a *dejeune*, returning to Panshanger in the evening.

It is now expected that the Queen of the Belgians will not leave England until after the return of her Majesty to the Castle, on Friday or Saturday next, from her visits to the Duke and Duchess of Bedford and the Earl and Countess Cowper, at Panshanger. During the past fortnight (and until the late unfavourable weather) Prince Albert has frequently bathed in the Thames from a piece of land in the centre of the river, upon which a large tent has been erected for the convenience of his Royal Highness. The Prince has been attended by some of the members of his household, and there has always been present an expert and experienced swimmer, in the event of an accident.

A deputation from the London Missionary Society, consisting of Mr. Frederick Smith, chairman of the Board of Directors; Mr. John Foulger, deputy chairman; Rev. J. Arundel, and the Rev. J. J. Freeman, secretaries; had an interview with Viscount Melbourne on Saturday, at his official residence in Downing-street, on the subject of the marriage laws in India.

A deputation from the Aborigines Protection Society, consisting of Mr. Robert Young, Dr. Hodgkin, Messrs. Robert Bell, James Whiting, and F. M. Innes, secretary, transacted business at the colonial-office on Friday.

The Earl of Jersey has given to Viscount Villiers, Upton-house, his mansion in Warwickshire, as the residence of his lordship and viscountess.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN—I request you to accept my sincere and hearty thanks for the honour you have conferred upon me by electing me one of your representatives in the Commons' House of Parliament.

I should have made this acknowledgment at an earlier period, had I not been desirous of explaining to you the course which the general state of the returns will make it my duty to pursue.

In order to do this the more clearly I must refer to some past events.

In the early part of last year, when a resolution declaring a want of confidence in the government was brought forward, I distinctly announced the intention of proposing additional taxes to meet the increased expenditure of the country.

In the present year, so soon as the estimates had been completed, and the probable amount of the revenue could be calculated, her Majesty's ministers took into their serious consideration the disparity which still existed between the income of the country and the cost of its establishments.

We found that the new taxes were not sufficient to supply the deficiency.

We were of opinion that we could not, with due regard to the honour and safety of the nation, reduce its naval and military forces.

But, upon a careful view of our commercial imposts, we came to the conclusion, that by removing prohibitions, and lessening restrictions, it was possible to replenish the treasury, and at the same time to secure to the working classes a greater command of the necessities of life at steady and moderate prices.

The first measure brought forward on this subject was intended to give increased freedom of trade to our colonies. But in defending this measure, in a debate before Easter, I stated that the cabinet were resolved to apply the same principle to our whole commercial policy, and had prepared propositions to carry their views into effect.

In the face of this declaration, it has been asserted that our commercial and financial plans were brought forward only because we had been defeated upon a clause in the Irish Qualification Bill.

It was difficult to refute our arguments; it was easy to misconstrue our motives; and those who were incapable of discovering reasons, have not been unequal to the labour of inventing facts.

Others have said that, with a precarious majority in the House of Commons, we ought not to have announced measures of such vast importance.

But had we resigned with a deficient revenue, and without pointing out the means of improving it, the same persons would, with far more justice, have accused us of being afraid to meet the difficulties we had caused, and of imposing upon our successors an unpopular or impracticable task.

It appeared to us, on the contrary, that it was our duty to lay before the House of Commons plans which we deemed beneficial; when defeated there we advised her Majesty to appeal to the people at large.

As soon as the new parliament meets we shall take the first opportunity of asking for a clear and decided judgment upon the policy we have proposed.

The result of such an appeal may now be easily foreseen. In the English cities and boroughs there is a small majority in our favour. In the Scotch cities and boroughs, a very decisive majority the same way. In the Irish boroughs and counties, there is also a majority in favour of the policy of the present Ministers. In the Scotch counties, the majority will be the other way; and in the English counties, that majority will be overwhelming.

To those who recollect Lord Stanley's description of our English county representation, or who have observed the effect of the Chandos clause of the Reform Act, this result will not be at all surprising. It should be added, however, that the manufacturing districts have not, as might have been expected, tended to restore the balance. As no ministers of the crown can stand without the confidence of the House of Commons, our retirement from office will immediately follow the condemnation of our policy. In this altered position, it would be inconsistent with my notions of public duty to harass the government of the day by vexatious opposition; still less to deny to the crown the means of maintaining the reputation of the country abroad, and internal quiet at home.

But when the great principles of religious, civil, and commercial liberty come into question, those principles must be firmly and fearlessly supported. Whatever party may be in power, they are so inseparably connected with the progress of society, that, although the country may doubt, may pause, may ponder, it will examine, discuss, and finally adopt them.

I am encouraged to this conviction by former victories.

Out of power, we obliged our opponents to abolish those tests by which political office was made exclusive, and a religious sacrament profaned.

Out of power, we forced our adversaries themselves to free the Roman Catholics from those disabilities which they had declared indispensable for the maintenance of the constitution and the safety of the church.

In power, we obliged those who had refused to allow representatives of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, to sit in the House of Commons, to submit to a much larger and more sweeping measure of Reform.

In power, we obtained the sanction of parliament to the abolition of slavery in our colonies.

In power, we have destroyed the monopoly of privileges in our municipal corporations.

In power, we have carried into practical effect the principles of equality of civil privileges between protestants and Roman Catholics, and have thereby secured to the crown the affectionate loyalty of the people of Ireland.

None of these measures received the hearty assent of the main body of our opponents; to several they opposed a violent and persevering resistance. But truth triumphed over them, and will again. Returned to office they may adopt our measures, and submit to the influence of reason; or, if they refuse to do so, they will be obliged to relinquish power, and the monopoly of trade will share the fate of religious intolerance and political exclusion.

But for the attainment of this object it is necessary to be vigilant and united; to oppose zeal to zeal, to watch minute details as well as to maintain great principles; in short, to exert, for a great and salutary end, the same untiring activity which has been exhibited in a more questionable cause.

As we do not distrust the justice of the measures we have proposed, let not temporary failure check our perseverance.

I am well aware, indeed, that in the city of London, and in some other places, great exertions have been made, and large sacrifices incurred, in behalf of this cause. Nor can I conclude without again expressing my grateful sense of the support I have received in the late unexpected, and, in many respects, unexampled contest.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

Minto, July 19, 1841.

J. RUSSELL.

GENERAL POLITICS.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.—The quarrel of the French government with the people of Toulouse has turned out so serious that it is necessary to examine the source of it. The attributions of French municipalities are, in a great measure, fixed by a law of 1809. According to this, the registering of property, as the basis of taxation, is to be executed by the municipal council, aided by an officer of the revenue. The municipalities executed the task without employing the utmost rigour and severity. M. Humann, the Finance Minister, having been long a burgess of Strasburg, was but too well acquainted with the leniency of the municipalities; but instead of doing as he ought, viz., bringing in a law to remedy it, he undertook to effect the change by his own sovereign will as minister; and he ordered the officers of the revenue to make the registry, or *recensement*, aided by the officers of the municipality. Thus M. Humann took the execution of the registry from those to whom the law gave it, and transferred it to those to whom the law merely entrusted the control, assigning at the same time the control in exchange to those deprived of the execution. The consequence has been, that all the municipalities of France have resisted, have declared the change illegal, and have refused to aid in or control the registry, or in any way sanction it. The fiscal officers had thus imposed upon them the task of forcing their way into every house. The passive resistance of the householders was quite sufficient to render this scheme impracticable, and it became the duty of the prefects to accomplish it as best they might. In small localities resistance was overcome; in large cities cajolery was used. Strasburg, for example, is in high good humour at the late treaty, opening the Rhine to cotton and colonial produce, and therefore not inclined to engage in resistance. In Toulouse, however, there is more disaffection, the rich and those dependent on them, being Carlists, whilst the independent, middle, and lower classes are, in fear of a Carlist reaction, all organized in republican or communist societies. The Prefect, M. Floret, accordingly thought it best to suspend the task of registry. The Home-office, in Paris, disapproved of this timidity, and superseded Floret by M. Mahul, a noted and rather obnoxious conservative. The municipal council immediately resigned in a body, and M. Mahul, on arriving, found he had none but the military to depend on, and they headed too by a General who professed his reluctance to fire on the people. Soon after M. Mahul's arrival the people of Toulouse rose, and formed barricades in the different streets. The chief citizens waited on the Prefect, and asked him to summon the national guard, which he alone could legally do. As they represented this to be the only means of restoring peace, the Prefect could not reject it without at once employing the military and shedding blood. He shrunk from this, convoked the national guard, who instantly took possession of many of the posts in the midst of the quarters of the troops of the line. The *émeute* continuing, the Prefect asked the General for a force to protect his person and residence. He was told it was impossible, and that it was best for him to retire. The Procureur-General, M. Plingoulin, a man of known obstinacy and courage, joined in what the General said, and the Prefect withdrew, leaving the national guard and the mob masters of the town.

These facts are important, first, because they have produced a division in the cabinet, Teste and Soult, the latter more covertly, inclining to lenient measures, Humann and Guizot persisting in going on. Such cause of division will pass away if the events of Toulouse cease to be serious. Should they continue to gather gravity, however, the cry will instantly be raised that this disaffection was caused by the rigour of the doctrinaires, and an attempt built thereon to get rid of them. I need not add, that the success of this intrigue would be the ruin of those who attempted it, for Soult without Guizot could not exist three months before a chamber, M. Thiers being at the same time in opposition.

Another serious fact connected with these events, and manifested by them, is the profound unpopularity of the dynasty and government in the south of France. The higher and richer people are leagued, as Carlists and Catholics, against the present state of things. The lower classes profess, to a great extent, the principles of the communists. There is still indeed a class attached to the constitutional system, viz., the middle and citizen families; yet these are the very persons whom M. Humann has offended, and M. Mahul would have trodden down. To succeed in such measures is as fatal and pernicious as to fail in them.—*Examiner*.

SPAIN.—The Madrid journals and private letters of the 16th inst. have come to hand.

The Chamber of Deputies adopted on that day, after some discussion, the article of the budget granting Queen Christina an allowance of 3,900,000 reals, being the amount of the jointure stipulated on her marriage with King Ferdinand VII. The article was carried by 95 votes against 27. In the course of a debate on the fueros of Navarre, M. Sagasti, member for Pampeluna, moved that the custom-houses should not be transferred to the frontiers of Navarre, but left where they are now established, along the line of the Ebro, because of the prejudices which such a change was likely to occasion. After a few observations from M. Goyeneche and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who promised that the law of the 28th of October, 1839, should be shortly carried into execution, M. Sagasti withdrew his amendment.

The following protest has been published:

Paris, Friday night, 8 o'clock.

IMPORTANT PROTEST OF QUEEN CHRISTINA.

"TO THE NATION.

"I, Queen Maria Christina de Bourbon, considering that by article 10 of the will of my august spouse, King Ferdinand VII., I am called upon to exercise the guardianship and care of my august daughters, minors; that this nomination is legal and valid in what concerns the guardianship of Queen Isabella, my daughter, in the terms of law 3, title 15, of the *partida* 2, and by virtue of article 60 of the constitution of the state, and that the civil law renders the nomination not less legal and valid in what concerns the person of the Infanta Maria Louisa Ferdinanda, my daughter; that if ever I should not become the guardian and keeper of the august orphans by the will of my spouse, I should be so in my quality as mother and widow by the will and benefit of the law; that neither the laws of our kingdom, nor the con-

stitution of the monarchy, extend to the government the faculty of interfering in the guardianship of the kings, nor in that of the Infantes of Spain; that the rights of the Cortes, resulting from the article of the constitution already cited, extend only to name a guardian to the king who is a minor, where the will has not designated one, and that the father or the mother do not remain in a state of widowhood, and that this right of the Cortes cannot be applied in any other case, nor in any other kind of guardianship; seeing that the government has placed impediments to the guardianship thus exercised, by naming agents to interfere in the administration of the domains and royal patrimony, in the form and manner mentioned in the decrees of Dec. 2 last, against which I have formally protested by letter of Jan. 20, of this year, addressed to Don Baldemero Espartero, Duke of Victory, that the Cortes, in despite of the law of *partida*, of article 60 of the constitution, and of the common law, have declared the guardianship of my august daughters vacant, and have appointed another guardian; seeing, finally, that my temporary absence does not affect the rights which I hold from the civil and political laws; that the abandonment of my lawful rights would include the forgetfulness of my most sacred duties, inasmuch as the mission to watch over the princesses, my daughters, has been confided to me, not for my advantage, but for their interest, and the interest of the nation—I declare that the decision of the Cortes is an usurpation of powers, based on force and violence—an usurpation which I ought not, and cannot consent to; that the rights, privileges, and prerogatives, which appertain to me as Queen Mother, and as guardian and keeper, by the will as by the law, of Queen Isabella and the Infanta Maria Louisa Ferdinanda, my much beloved daughters, cannot be lost, or proscribed, that I do not renounce these same rights, privileges, and prerogatives, although, in point of fact, the exercise of them be suspended and hindered in consequence of violence; for these causes, feeling that I am bound to repel publicly an act of violence so monstrous, by all means within my reach, I have resolved to protest, as I hereby protest, a thousand times, solemnly before the nation, and in the face of the world, with my full and free will and spontaneous action, against the decrees already named, of December 2nd last, which have prevented the exercise of the guardianship, against the resolution of the Cortes, which declares it vacant, and against all the effects and consequences of these dispositions. I moreover declare as false and as null the motives alleged to take away from me the guardianship of my august daughters, by thus destroying my feelings as a mother. One only consolation remains for me—it is, that during the time the helm of the state was in my hands, a number of Spaniards saw the day of clemency shine for them—every day impartial justice, and no day one of vengeance. It was I, who, at San Ildefonso granted the benefit of the amnesty. Madrid was witness of my constant efforts to cause the restoration of peace. Valencia finally saw me the last to defend the laws, scandalously trampled under foot by men who were most bound to defend them. You know, Spaniards, the privileged objects of my solicitude and of my thoughts have always been, and will always be, the greatest glory of God, the defence and maintenance of the throne of Isabella II., and the happiness of Spain.

"MARIA CHRISTINA.

"Done in Paris, July 19, 1841."

(The above protest is enclosed in a stringent and energetic letter of reproach to Espartero of the same date.)

TURKEY.—The *Augsburg Gazette* under date, Belgrade, 5th inst., states that the orders given from Constantinople to disarm the Turkish population, had begun to be enforced in that city. The Pasha took occasion to act upon them in consequence of a dispute which took place in a public coffee-house between a Turk and two Servians on political and religious matters, which terminated fatally. There remains no doubt, therefore, that the prohibition against wearing arms, will receive full execution. It is likewise believed that the garrison of the citadel of Belgrade will very soon receive a considerable reinforcement. For some time back an unusual activity had been observed amongst the military authorities, and considerable additions had been made to the fortifications. There are at present, two Russians in Servia who are writing the history of that country. The same persons resided for some time at Montenegro. It appears they are looked upon with suspicion by the authorities. The motives for the last movement at Gohiba, which was not attended with any result, is yet but little understood. Prince Milosch's uncle still remains in close custody. The prince himself is about to visit Vienna.

The *Presse* has the following from Constantinople of the 29th:—"The health of the Sultan still causes anxiety. His death would be a great loss to reform, Abdul Medjid being a disciple of Redschid's; whilst his brother, Abdul Azis, is the favourite of the Sultana Mother. The latter is 13 years of age, and of a fine character. Halil Pacha, it is thought, will openly take office at length. His brother-in-law, Said, appointed governor of Aidin, for the purpose of removing him from the capital, refuses to depart.

CANDIA.—"There are accounts from Candia," says the *Constitutionnel*, "up to the 27th ult. Several battles have been fought since the 14th. On the 19th the Greeks attacked the Turks in the environs of Neocario, and drove them back towards Candia; but the Mussulmans having obtained reinforcements, the Greeks were obliged to fall back to their former positions. On the 20th, the Turks of Candia fell upon the advanced posts of the Christians, which were weak on that side, while the main body of their army was watching Canea. By a feigned flight, the Greeks drew their enemies into the mountains, and falling upon them in a body gave them a severe check, making a capture of one of the superior Turkish officers. The Mussulmans avenged themselves by burning, in their retreat to Candia, the Christian villages, and murdering all the inhabitants except a few women and girls whom they took with them to be sold as slaves. On the 25th, there was some fighting near Celino. The Turks were beaten. The garrison of Suda has been reinforced by newly landed regulars. The Turks are receiving fresh troops nearly every day, and are preparing to strike a decisive blow. The Christians also receive succour, but of less amount. Among the Greeks, the inhabitants of Cerigo have most distinguished themselves. Every night these intrepid mariners bring supplies of arms, ammunition, and provisions to the defenders of the cross. Their island is the rendezvous of all the Greeks and their allies, who wish to go into Candia. The Zantiotes also do all they can to assist their brethren of Crete."

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

Quarterly average of the weekly liabilities and assets of the Bank of England, from the 27th of April last to the 20th of July instant, both inclusive, published pursuant to the act 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 98.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Circulation	£16,821,000	Securities	£22,275,000
Deposits	7,746,000	Bullion	5,170,000
	£24,567,000		£27,445,000

During the week, ending on the 17th instant, 761 persons died within the metropolitan districts. The average weekly deaths during the last three years amounted to 926. During the week, ending on the 17th, 77 children died of convulsions, and 35 of hydrocephalus. Of consumption there died 150 persons; of diseases in the digestive organs, 47; of old age, 42; of privation, 2; and by violent deaths, 21.

A simultaneous rise in the price of bread has taken place throughout the metropolis! The 4lb. loaf as delivered over the counter of the cheap baker is this day eightpence halfpenny! and at the full priced baker's *tenpence*! Furthermore, it is stated, that in a very short time the common or household loaf of 4lbs. will be *tenpence halfpenny*, and the best wheaten bread *thirteen pence*! These stubborn facts come home to every man's bosom, and tell more keenly than the speeches of ten thousand lecturers.

On Wednesday week a Special Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held at the Company's House, in Leadenhall-street, to take into consideration the additional papers laid on the table with reference to the case of the Rajah of Sattara; George Lyall, Esq., in the chair. Mr. Lewis opened the debate and moved the following resolution:—"That it appears from the papers laid before the court of proprietors in the case of the Rajah of Sattara, that his Highness was accused of treasonable designs against the British Government, upon *ex parte*, anonymous, and contradictory statements, without his having an opportunity of defending himself; that he was called upon to sign a document admitting his guilt, as the condition of being continued on his throne; that on his refusing to accede to this extraordinary and degrading proposal—while asserting his innocence, and requesting to be informed of the charges against him, and the names of his accusers—he was suddenly at midnight, removed from his palace by a military force, deprived of his property, and sent a prisoner to Benares; that such a course of proceeding must have the effect of destroying the confidence of the native Princes of India in the justice and honour of the British Government; and therefore this court recommends to the Court of Directors, that a full and fair investigation of the accusations against the Rajah be forthwith instituted, by an impartial committee to be appointed for that purpose; and in the event of the accusations not being substantiated, that the Rajah be restored to that throne which, according to the recorded opinion of the Court of Directors, he had for so many years adorned by 'a course of conduct calculated to promote the prosperity of his dominions and the happiness of his people.'" Mr. D. Salomons seconded the motion. The Chairman said, all the authorities, both in India and at home, had concurred in the propriety of the proceedings that had been adopted with regard to the Rajah of Sattara; and he would remind the Court of Proprietors that they had no power to alter or vary any resolution which had been agreed to by the Court of Directors, and afterwards received the approbation of the Commissioners of the Board of Control. He should call on the court to confirm the resolution it adopted when the question was discussed in February, 1840, viz.—"That this court deems it highly inexpedient, and accordingly declines to interfere with the responsible executive in the affairs of Sattara." He concluded by moving an amendment to the above effect. The Deputy Chairman seconded the amendment. The debate was continued by adjournment from day to day until Tuesday evening, when the chairman put the question, and the numbers were twelve in favour of the original motion, and about twice as many against it. The amendment of the deputy chairman was ultimately carried by a considerable majority. Mr. Lewis gave notice that he should bring the case of the Rajah of Sattara again before the court at the next quarterly meeting.

At the Kensington police court, Mrs. Bradbury, the keeper of a lunatic-asylum for the reception of females of the richer classes, was summoned before the magistrate, at the instance of the commissioners for taking the census of the population, for refusing to make a return of the inmates of her establishment. Mrs. Bradbury said she considered she acted most properly towards the friends of the ladies under her care in refusing to make any return: she had been advised by all her medical friends to do so. She acted from motives of delicacy alone. The magistrate suggested that the defendant might make the return under the letters A, B, C, &c.; but she declined making any return at all. The magistrate then stated, that under these circumstances he should inflict the penalty of 5*l*.

PROVINCIAL.

There is a vacancy in the North Riding of Yorkshire, occasioned by the death of Lord Feversham, whose eldest son, the Hon. William Duncombe, represented that division of the county in the last parliament, and was re-elected a few days since; he is now, consequently, Lord Feversham. The late baron was in his 77th year, and married Lady Charlotte Legge, aunt of the Earl of Dartmouth. The present peer is in his 46th year, and married in December, 1823, Lady Louisa Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Galloway, by whom he has a large family, his eldest son and heir being now in his 16th year.

A shoemaker at Hereford, named Richard Russell, committed suicide last week, under peculiar circumstances. It appears he had voted for Mr. Burr, and sworn that he retained the same qualification as that for which he registered, though his house had been taken down. The idea of having taken a false oath so preyed on his mind that he could no longer endure life.

The inhabitants of Scarborough have raised a handsome subscription to purchase a piece of plate for the Hon. C. B. Phipps, the defeated liberal candidate.

On Wednesday last a public dinner was given to Lord Edward Howard, the late liberal candidate for the rape of Bramber. About 150 of the most influential electors sat down in the principal room of the Sea-house hotel, which was tastefully decorated with laurels, and banners bearing appropriate inscriptions. Frederick Dixon, Esq., took the chair, and was supported on the right by Lord Edward Howard, and on the left by Lord Fitzalan, M.P. for Arundel. Amongst the company present were:—The Earl of Surrey, Lord George Lennox, Lord Barnard Howard, Capt. Pechell, R.N., M.P. for Brighton; J. N. Wigney, Esq., M.P. for Brighton; Major Allen, the mayor of Arundel, W. H. Dennett, Esq.; Robert French, Esq., &c. &c.

An anti-corn law tea party was held in Salford town hall on Monday week, for the purpose of forming an operative anti-corn law association in Salford. About 400, a great proportion of whom were ladies, sat down to tea. Mr. William Morris occupied the chair; and amongst other gentlemen present, were Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P.; Mr. Alderman Brooks; Mr. J. Kay, jun., constable; Mr. W. Lockett, &c. The room was tastefully decorated with flags and banners, bearing appropriate inscriptions.

The meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society of England was held at Liverpool last week. There was a great influx of visitors from all parts of the kingdom. Among the most distinguished members were—Earl Spencer, Earl Talbot, Lord Stanley, M.P., Lord Sandon, M.P., Sir F. Lawley, Sir C. Lemon, M.P., Sir J. Mordaunt, M.P., Sir J. Johnstone, M.P., Mr. Divett, M.P., Mr. E. Buller, M.P., Mr. R. M. Milnes, M.P., Mr. W. Fielden, M.P., Mr. W. G. Hayter, M.P., Mr. G. W. Wood, M.P., Mr. M. Phillips, M.P., Mr. Hodgetts Foley, M.P., Mr. Langston, M.P., Mr. T. B. Crosse, M.P., Sir C. Burrell, M.P., the Mayor of Liverpool, Sir T. Branker, Mr. Alderman Earle, Colonel Challinor, Mr. Thornely, M.P., Sir E. Parker, Dr. Buckland, Sir J. Guy, Sir R. Bulkeley, Lord Lisburn, Mr. D. Barclay, M.P., Colonel Aston, Captain Hurst, Sir C. Senior, Sir C. Lemon, Mr. W. Egerton, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir J. Cooke, Mr. Bolton Peel, Earl Talbot, Dr. Sharp, Mr. Hildyard, Lord Savage, the Earl of Wicklow, Lord St. John, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, Lord Howth, Lord Loftus, Mr. Goring, M.P., and Colonel Ladiman. The arrivals of stock were considerable, but the collection in this department is not so great as might have been expected. Many of the agriculturists complain that the managers of the society have not given sufficient publicity to the time of meeting through the medium of the press, which they allege to be the cause of the deficiency in the exhibition of stock. The spacious yard in the neighbourhood of Falkner-square, for the display of agricultural machines, was opened to the public at 5*s*. per head admission. There was a very large exhibition of various agricultural implements, machines, and other articles for farm purposes, comprising almost every description of implement, together with the improvements which have been made by the various manufacturers since the last meeting of the society at Cambridge. There was also a large show of red seed wheat, champion red wheat, samples of seeds of all the natural grasses used in laying land to permanent pasture, and in improving old leys, and specimens of turnips, clovers, wheats, barley, oats, and other agricultural plants. A trial of implements was made in some of the fields of the Earl of Sefton, at Aintree. The dinner of the society took place on Friday, in a temporary erection for the purpose, of an extended and most commodious kind. A few minutes after 4 o'clock the chairman, Mr. Pusey, M.P., arrived, accompanied by some of the most influential guests. The scene altogether was of the most animated description. The immense assemblage of rank and affluence were disposed in the most favourable manner, so as to give effect to the *coup d'œil*, and must be witnessed to give even a distant idea of the effect produced. Upwards of 3,000 persons sat down to dinner.

A sample of new barley was shown in our market on Saturday, and afterwards brought to our office, for which 6*s*. per bushel was asked, and 5*s*. refused. It was of a good colour, and of excellent quality.—*Worcester Journal*.

The ceremony of laying the first stone of the new building which is about to be erected at Wanstead, for the reception of the orphan children supported by the benevolence of the subscribers to the society of the "Infant Orphan Asylum," took place on Saturday. Prince Albert performed the principal part, and an immense concourse of persons were attracted to the spot. His Royal Highness was met by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and several of the city authorities, by the Lord Bishop of London, Drs. Read, Kenney, and a numerous body of the clergy; the venerable Mr. Byng, M.P., Colonel Wood, M.P., Sir George Carrol, and many other gentlemen. On arriving at the spot on which the stone was to be laid, it was lowered by degrees, by means of pulleys and tackling, from a triangle decorated with various colours. The stone is a very large one, weighing nearly a ton, carved on two sides with the arms of England and those of Saxe Coburg, by Mr. Nixon, the sculptor. After it was fixed the Bishop of London read an appropriate prayer, and the children of the institution sang a hymn. The ladies present then passed by the stone, depositing their contributions, wrapped up in white paper, and bowing to his Royal Highness, who returned their courtesy with the greatest affability. Their example was followed by the gentlemen, and the top of the stone was literally heaped with donations.

IRELAND.

On Monday the nuptials of his Excellency, the Earl Fortescue and Lady Somerville were solemnised at the Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park, by the Lord Bishop of Cashel. The ceremony was private, only the immediate relatives of the parties being present.

The electors of Cork county gave a grand dinner to their new member, Mr. O'Connell, in the Cork Chamber of Commerce, on Monday-week. Mr. Daniel O'Callaghan was the chairman; and among the vice-presidents were Mr. Beamish, the late member, and Mr. Murphy, M.P. About three hundred sat down to dinner. The proceedings were distinguished by a full share of Irish enthusiasm.

An extraordinary instance of the enthusiastic and devoted loyalty of the Irish people occurred in Dundalk, during the election for the county of Louth. When the band struck up the national anthem, the immense multitude with one accord knelt down, and remained in that posture till the anthem was concluded; after which they gave three hearty cheers for her Majesty the Queen.—*Drogheda Argus*.

SCOTLAND.

Thursday last was appointed by the General Assembly as a day of humiliation and prayer on account of the present state of the church. The following conversation on the subject took place in the Edinburgh Town Council:—

Bailie RICHARDSON said he found that the General Assembly had ordered Thursday first to be set apart as a day of humiliation and prayer, in consequence of the present position of the church. The church question was one which had certainly agitated the country far and wide, and he was not prepared to say that he could go along with the majority of the General Assembly in regard to it.

Mr. LOTHIAN rose to order.

Sir JOHN DALYELL thought Bailie Richardson was quite in order. He (Sir John) had that day learned, for the first time, that there was to be a fast in two days hence. He had never heard of it before in his life—(laughter)—and he wanted to know something about it.

Bailie RICHARDSON assured Mr. Lothian that he had never heard of the fast until Sunday last. The statement he wished to make was a very short one. Although a member of the church himself, he was aware that a great number of those over whom he held authority by virtue of the chain he wore, were not bound to obey the laws of the church; and that he would not be doing equal justice to those whom he represented, if he deserted his seat on Thursday next, merely because a fast had been ordered by the church (hear, hear). He had, therefore, directed the officers of the Bailie Court to summon all parties in the cases on the roll for that day, as usual; and he should also attend to all applications from the gaol for aliment, as on ordinary days. He did not mean to propose that the council should interfere in the slightest degree with those under their authority, such as teachers and others—some of whom were licentiates of the church, and might be brought into trouble for their conduct, if he might judge from the proceedings of the church in other cases (hear, hear), but certainly, so far as regarded himself, being entirely independent of anything the General Assembly could do to him, he intended to discharge his public duties as a magistrate the same as on other days.

Bailie GRIEVE said, that without any communication with Bailie Richardson or any of the other magistrates, he had, the day before yesterday, directed Captain Steuart to attend the police court on Thursday as usual. He held that they should have "mercy before sacrifice;" and as there might be at least a dozen of people in the police cells—some of them, perhaps, innocent—he did not see why they should be confined an additional twenty-four hours because it happened to be the General Assembly's fast [hear, hear].

The *Scottish Pilot* says, on Thursday, places of business were generally shut. Except, however, by churchmen, the respect paid was limited to appearances, for, notwithstanding the wetness of the day, public conveyances of every description were crowded by travellers; and gigs, omnibuses, minibuses, &c., were much in requisition. Some of the loudest talking voluntaries gave in to the church on this occasion, though many were consistent with their principles. In other towns the dissenters have not been so craven-hearted.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

VESSEL SUNK, EIGHT LIVES LOST.—On Saturday last, the John, of Riga, barque, outward bound (for Spain, we believe, with timber), entered Dover harbour with her bowsprit and foretopmast carried away and bulwarks stove in, she having been in contact with another barque from Newport with iron and steel, for Sweden, towards the Goodwin Sands, which latter vessel, sunk in some thirty fathoms water, when no fewer than eight of her crew, seven men and a boy, were drowned. The collision took place between one and two o'clock, the weather being dark and foggy; and it is supposed the anchor of the John entered the bows of the other vessel, as the crew were obliged to let go the cable to prevent the sinking vessel from dragging the other down with her. The captain ran down to the cabin to save the ship's papers, but so suddenly did she sink after the collision, that he perished in the attempt.

THREE LIVES LOST AT WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.—Last week a boat containing seven individuals was upset by driving against the fourth stalling from the Lambeth side of Westminster bridge. Four of the persons were rescued, and conveyed to the surgery of Mr. Cory, where every attention was paid to them in order to restore animation, and with success. The three individuals who are lost are supposed to have got entangled with the boat when it sunk. Two of those who have met so untimely a fate are a young couple who were only married the same day.

SUDDEN DEATH IN REGENT STREET.—Last Thursday afternoon, about five o'clock, an awful instance of the uncertainty of human life occurred at the corner of Regent street and Jermyn street, St. James's, to Lieutenant-colonel Gusling. The colonel had quitted his residence but a few minutes, for the purpose of taking a walk, when he fell down a lifeless corpse. He was conveyed into the shop of Mr. Armstrong, surgeon, who endeavoured to bleed him, but without effect, as life was quite extinct.

SUDDEN DEATH.—On Sunday morning last, as Mrs. Assender, wife of Mr. Assender, fellmonger, of Bermondsey, was returning from the Rev. John Adey's chapel, in company with her husband and three of her children, she suddenly became alarmingly ill, fell down and shortly after was a corpse, though previously quite well.

ANOTHER SUDDEN DEATH.—Thomas Wilson, a watch-finisher, aged sixty-seven years, on Tuesday week about nine o'clock, entered the shop of Mrs. Jones, No. 54, Wellington-street, for the purpose of purchasing a circular piece of metal. Whilst in the act of handing it over to Mrs. Jones, to have it weighed, he suddenly fell on the floor and never spoke after.

DEATH OF THE REV. J. DYER.—On Thursday last, the Rev. J. Dyer, secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society, who had for some time past been in a state of considerable mental excitement, arising principally from his close attention to public business, put an end to his existence by drowning himself in a water tank in the cellar of his residence at Sydenham. An inquest was held on the body on Friday, when a verdict of "temporary insanity" was returned. The deceased has left a wife and family of nine children, and the circumstance of his death has created a most painful sensation in Sydenham.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE AT CHATHAM.—On Thursday morning, about 1 o'clock, it was found that the extensive premises in High-street, belonging to Mr. Kilvinton, coal merchant, were on fire. In about a quarter of an hour the warehouse, containing 40 tons of coals, counting-house, and premises presented one sheet of fire, threatening destruction to the houses adjoining and to those on the opposite side of the street. The cries of Mrs. Kilvinton from her bed room window, which was on the third story, for help, were truly distressing; she, however, was lowered into the street by means of sheets tied together, as also was her infant in the cradle. Such a providential escape for them was miraculous, as all communication was cut off by means of the staircase being in one body of flame. Mr. Kilvinton escaped with his life by letting himself down into the street. The house adjoining, occupied by Mr. Langley, brushmaker, was soon in a blaze, and so fierce was the fire that it took possession of the house occupied by Messrs. Sloman, extensive pawnbrokers. The three houses soon fell a prey to the devouring element. The fronts of the houses fell into the street with a fearful crash. The loss of property is very great.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.—A dreadful fire, by which several thousand pounds' worth of property was destroyed, took place on Sunday week in the extensive worsted-mills in the village of Horbury, about five miles from Wakefield, belonging to Messrs. Foster and Borass. The entire premises fell a sacrifice; but the firm are stated to be fully insured in several fire-offices. It has been ascertained that the fire originated in spontaneous combustion amongst a quantity of cotton waste that had collected on the third story of the mills.

EXPLOSION IN A COAL PIT.—About ten o'clock in the forenoon of Friday last, a terrible explosion of fire-damp, or carbonated hydrogen gas, took place in the coal works known as Rhodes bank colliery, near Oldham; whereby four persons lost their lives, and two were severely though not fatally injured.

DREADFUL THUNDER STORM, AND PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE.—On Thursday week, the county of Worcester was visited by a tremendous storm of lightning, thunder, hail, and rain, which caused very considerable damage. The brunt of the storm appeared to have extended from Hanley to Kempsey, at which latter place the hail fell with great violence for an hour and a half, causing great injury to the gardens, large plantations of cucumbers being utterly destroyed, while the potato haulms were cut to pieces, and the fruit seriously injured. At Draycott, four trees were struck by the electric fluid, and a sheep was killed on the parsonage farm. At Powick, also, an elm tree was shivered to pieces by the lightning. During the storm a young man fled for shelter to an oak standing near the farm house of Mr. Wells, at Blackmore park end, and while there received a blow on the back which rendered him almost insensible. On examination it was discovered that a large ash tree, standing about ten yards from the oak, was literally crushed, the bark being stripped off and scattered in all directions; and there is no doubt but that one of these strips gave the violent blow which so alarmed the man. Other damage was done in the neighbourhood, two trees being struck down near Sir Anthony Lechmere's mansion.

THE PRESIDENT.—The Philadelphia correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce* writes:—"There has been some little excitement produced here to-day by the news brought by Captain Sawyer, of the brig *Augusta*, which arrived at this port this morning. Captain Sawyer states that he fell in with the wreck of a large steam-ship, burnt so near the water's edge that he could not ascertain her name, on Thursday, the 24th June, in lat. 33, 30, long. 75, 20. One guard was under water, and the other much charred and burnt. The presumption of many here is that it was the hull of the long-missing President, and that she was burnt, and not destroyed by the ice. If this opinion be well founded, there is thought to be some hope of the safety of a portion of the crew; as, in case of her loss by fire, there must have been timely notice for them to get out the boats. The *Augusta* is 24 days from Trinidad. Captain Sawyer is quite sure that it was the hull of a large steamer that he saw, and equally sure that she had been on fire. He bore down close upon it."

A CHILD LOST IN THE WOODS.—A daughter of Mr. David W. Boobar, of Linneus, in Aroostook county, on the morning of the 4th inst. was sent by her mother to a neighbour's house, half a mile distant, to borrow a little flour for breakfast. The girl is only nine years of age, and in going through the woods lost her way. The next morning about forty of the neighbours collected and went in pursuit, but returned without any tidings of the child. The next day the company was increased to sixty persons, and searched the woods all day with no better success. On the following day between two and three hundred of the settlers assembled early in the morning, all eager to restore the little wanderer to the arms of its despairing parents. The company set out for a last search. The child had been in the woods three days and three nights. Half the day had been expended in entering the forest. It was time to think of returning, but who could think of doing so while an innocent child might be wandering but a few rods in advance? On the company pushed, still deeper into the dense wilds. The sun had reached the meridian, and was dipping down towards the west. It seemed vain to look farther, and slowly and heavily they commenced their return. The line was stretched to include a survey of the greatest possible ground; not a bush or tree was passed without diligent search. Those at the extremities of the line tasked themselves to the utmost in examining the woods beyond the lines. They had travelled for some time when, at the farthest point of vision, the man on the flank thought he saw a bush bend. He rushed forward, and found the little girl seated upon a log, and breaking the twigs she had plucked from the bush which so providentially led to her discovery. She did not appear to be frightened; said she had lain in the woods three nights, and had not seen or heard any wild beasts, and that she thought she should get to Mr. Howard's for the flour before night! At first she did not appear hungry or weak, but after eating a piece of bread her cries for more were very piteous. She was found about three miles from where she entered the woods. Her clothing was very thin, and the large shawl she had on when she left home she had carefully folded and placed in the pillow-case, not even putting it over her during the night, as she said, "to keep from dirtying it, or her mother would whip her." Our informant states, that she is now as well and happy as the other children.—*From the Bangor Whig, an American paper.*

SLAVE SHOOTING IN GUADALOUPE.—The Court of Assizes at Point à Pitre, in the island of Guadeloupe, was engaged, on April 28th, in the trial of M. Manche, the overseer of the estate of Tesseron, for the murder of two negroes, named Firmin and Auguste, and wounding a third, named Jean Pierre. The following is a summary of the case, as given in evidence:—Some maroons, or runaway negroes, had for some time taken shelter in the woods of the commune of St. Rose, and lived by committing robberies and other depredations in the neighbourhood. Manche determined to get rid of them by attacking them in their retreat. At 4 o'clock in the morning of September 7th, being armed with a double-barrelled gun, and accompanied by three slaves belonging to the estate under his charge, he went out to accomplish his intent. Having met Alexis, the slave of Madame Poyen, who had run away from her, Manche seized and bound him with cords to one of his own negroes, and compelled the man to guide him to the retreat of the maroons. At a further distance, he made a similar attempt upon Jean Pierre, a slave belonging to M. Kayser. This man refused to surrender, and took to flight, but was immediately wounded by a shot from Manche, and was secured and bound like the first prisoner. Manche then led on his party, and had not proceeded far before he descried Firmin flying with his best speed; but as the man would not stop on being called to, Manche discharged both his barrels and killed him, and had his body immediately buried on the spot. This being done, the chase was renewed, and Auguste became the next victim of this sanguinary sport. Mondesire, another maroon, was in company with Auguste at the time, and became a witness against Manche, and his evidence was supported by Jean Pierre, the wounded maroon, whom, however, Manche had, by giving him five francs, endeavoured to bribe to silence. A partial admission of the fact by Manche himself, in a letter written by him to a brigadier of gendarmes, was produced in court. Manche had contrived to evade arrest, and therefore was tried in default of appearance. He was found guilty by the jury, and sentenced to close confinement, with hard labour, for 10 years.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

On Thursday last, about 600 children, belonging to the day and Sunday schools at Bocking, Essex, were regaled with cake and wine, and upwards of 200 were rewarded with suitable books for early attendance and good conduct. In the evening nearly 200 of the friends and teachers took tea at the Horn Inn, the Rev. T. Craig in the chair. After tea several resolutions were passed, and encouraging and animating speeches delivered by G. Courtauld, Esq., C. Tabor, Esq., E. G. Craig, Esq., Messrs. Ridley, Burder, Negus, jun., Vavasseur, Betts, Baynes, Mitchell, and Low. The meeting throughout was of a most interesting character, and it is hoped will tend to promote the prosperity of these institutions.

On Wednesday last, a meeting in behalf of baptist missions was held in Stoke Chapel, Ipswich, A. K. Cowell, Esq., in the chair. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Rev. J. Charlesworth, Rev. — Aldis, Rev. W. Notcutt, Rev. Mr. Bane (missionary,) Rev. T. Middleditch, and others. In the course of the evening, a collection was made in aid of the society, amounting to 27l. There was a full attendance of the friends of the association. A collection was also made after three services on Sunday last, which amounted to 21l.

The annual meeting of the Dudley branch of the Baptist Missionary Society, took place at the Baptist chapel, Dudley, on Monday week. The place was well filled by a respectable audience. Among the ministers who addressed the meeting, were, Dr. F. A. Cox, of London, Rev. D. D. Evans, of Ponthry Dyrn, the Rev. J. J. Davis, A.M., of London, Revs. Morgan and Swan, of Birmingham, Rev. J. Blair, of the Scotch Church, Dudley, and Rev. J. Hill, Independent minister of Gornal. John Blackwell, Esq., of Stourbridge, presided. The collections on Sunday, together with that of the public meeting amounted to more than £40.

On Wednesday evening, the 14th inst., the Stourbridge Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society held its annual meeting in Mount Zion chapel. The chair was taken by J. Blackwell, Esq., and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. T. Swan, of Birmingham; Rev. D. D. Evans, of Ponthrydyryn; Messrs. Rogers and Price, of Dudley; and other neighbouring ministers.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, the 13th and 14th inst., the annual meeting of the Worcestershire Baptist Association was held at Upton. The attendance was numerous, and at dinner and tea (which was provided in the Town-hall), on Wednesday, 130 persons sat down.

Many of the Scottish residents at Dudley, have recently formed themselves into a congregation adhering to the doctrine and discipline of the church of Scotland, and on Thursday the 8th inst., the Rev. Samuel Blair was ordained as their pastor by the Presbytery of London. The services of the day were conducted by the Rev. Messrs. Thomson, of Woolwich, and Lorimer and Cumming, of London. The sermon and addresses were interesting and appropriate, and were listened to by the congregation, consisting of persons of various denominations, apparently with the deepest interest.—On Sunday last the Rev. Mr. Blair was introduced to his charge by the Rev. John Macnaughtan, of the High Church, Paisley, who delivered two eloquent and impressive sermons to crowded auditories.

The new Roman catholic "cathedral," at Birmingham was opened for divine service on Tuesday se'nnight. Thirteen bishops and 200 priests took part in the ceremonies. The receipts arising from tickets of admission and the collection on the occasion amounted to near 700l.

The general Baptist chapel at Kirton in Lindsey, after being considerably enlarged and improved, was re-opened on Sunday the 12th inst.; and on the following day Mr. Goodliffe, baptist minister of that place, was publicly ordained to the pastoral office, and two members of the same church were appointed deacons. The Rev. J. G. Pike, of Derby, and the Rev. R. Kenny, of Macclesfield, preached on Sunday; and on Monday the former of these ministers delivered a charge to Mr. Goodliffe, and the Rev. Jas. Kiddall of Louth, another to the newly-made deacons, and also put the usual questions to the members and their minister prior to his ordination. After a discourse from the Rev. R. Kenney on the leading principles of dissent, the three ministers united in the laying on of hands on Mr. Goodliffe, and the ceremony closed with the usual devotional exercises.

The Rev. J. Raven, from Hadleigh, Suffolk, commenced his labours on the first sabbath in this month, as co-pastor with the Rev. T. East, of Birmingham. The field of labour on which he has now entered is extensive; his fellow-labourer, and the church under their united care, believe that the Lord has sent him amongst them for good. This arrangement has been made in consequence of the claims which Spring-hill College so urgently present on the time and exertions of the Rev. T. East, who has consecrated the residue of his days to promote its prosperity.

The convocation of the clergy is fixed to be holden in the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, on Friday the 20th of August next.

On the 4th inst., the Rev. Lord Kerney performed divine service in his barn, at Chesterford in Essex.

The duty of consigning the mortal remains of Mr. William Dawson to the tomb was performed by the Rev. W. H. Bathurst, the rector, at the parish church of the village where he formerly resided, Barnbow, on Wednesday the 14th, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, principally connected with the religious society of which he was so distinguished a member. The funeral procession was composed of ministers and office-bearers in the Methodist society, walking six abreast; gentlemen on horseback; hearse; three mourning coaches; followed by 68 carriages of different descriptions. In addition to the numbers already enumerated, several thousand individuals followed the procession for a considerable distance from Leeds.

MARRIAGES.

July 21, at the independent chapel, Lancaster, by the Rev. SAMUEL BELL, Mr. LEONARD WHALEY WILLAN, bookseller, to MARY, eldest daughter of Mr. JOHN MOSER, all of Lancaster.

July 22, at the independent chapel, Halesworth, by the Rev. GEO. L. SMITH, Mr. THOS. MAYHEW, of Waltham Abbey, Essex, to ELEANOR, only surviving daughter of the late Mr. JOSEPH BISHOP, of Chediston.

July 22, at the friends' meeting house, Rochdale, THOMAS ASHWORTH, of Poynton, Cheshire, to SOPHIA, eldest daughter of JACOB BRIGHT, of Rochdale.

July 22, at the friends' meeting house, Frandley, Cheshire, WILLIAM PAYNE, of Northampton, eldest son of THOMAS PAYNE, of Brampton, near Northampton, to HANNAH, youngest daughter of the late W. M. DARBYSHIRE, of Stretton, near Warrington.

DEATHS.

July 14, suddenly, at Coleby, near Lincoln, Lady KAYE, relict of the Very Rev. Sir R. KAYE, formerly dean of Lincoln, aged 96. Lady Kaye was the mother of C. MAINWARING, Esq., and grandmother of Lady Sutton.

July 16, at Torrie House, in Fifeshire, the Lady EMMA ERSKINE WEMYSS, sister to the Earl of ERROLL.

July 19, after a short illness, the Lady des Vaux.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, July 23.

INSOLVENT.

MAYBERY, CHARLES, Earl's court, Old Brompton, boarding and lodging-house keeper.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

RYLE, JOHN, Manchester, and Macclesfield, Cheshire, banker.

BANKRUPTS.

BALDRY, GEORGE, jun., late of Bury St. Edmunds, and then of Ipswich, innkeeper, to surrender July 31, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Wayman and Greene, Bury St. Edmunds, and Messrs. Walter and Pemberton, 4, Symond's inn, Chancery lane, London.

BUTTERWORTH, JOSHUA, of the London leather warehouses, Bermondsey, and Walcot place, Lambeth, leather factor, August 3, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Rhodes and Co., 63, Chancery lane.

BUTTERWORTH, WILLIAM, Sunderland wharf, Peckham, Surrey, corn merchant, August 3, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Rhodes and Co., 63, Chancery lane.

COLEMAN, BENJAMIN, Liverpool, stock broker, August 5, Sept. 3: solicitors, Mr. Cross, Liverpool; and Messrs. Vincent and Sherwood, 9, King's bench walk, Inner Temple, London.

CUNLIFFE, HENRY, Green Haworth, Lancashire, shopkeeper, August 14, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Wigglesworth and Co., 5, Gray's inn, London, and Mr. Robinson, or Messrs. Wilkinson and Kenyon, Blackburn.

FOX, JOHN, 101, Minorities, City, tailor, July 30, Sept. 3: solicitor, Mr. Bigginden, Walbrook.

GREEN, JOHN and WILLIAM, Wetherby, Yorkshire, timber merchants, August 6, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Johnson and Co., King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, and Mr. George Leeman, York.

LINGHAM, THOMAS, 6, Cross lane, St. Mary-at-Hill, City, wine merchant, July 30, Sept. 3: solicitor, Mr. James, 5, Basinghall street.

MORRIS, JOHN, Earl's court, Leicester square, cow keeper, August 4, Sept. 3: solicitor, Mr. Smith, 9, Barnard's inn.

NEWTON, WILLIAM and JOHN, Macclesfield, Cheshire, silk throwsters, August 3, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, 3, Mansion-house place, London.

STRUTTON, CHARLES, Nine Elms, Surrey, and 32, Commercial road, Lambeth, timber merchant, August 3, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Newbon and Evans, 1, Wardrobe place, Doctors' Commons.

WESTHEAD, RICHARD, Waterloo, Lancashire, victualler, August 5, Sept. 3: solicitors, Messrs. Holme and Co., New inn, London, and Mr. John Yates, jun., Liverpool.

DIVIDENDS.

August 13, Wightman, Paternoster row, London, bookseller.—August 13, Wheeler, 9 and 10, Prince's street, Hanover square, tailor.—August 14, Thoms, Warwick square, printer.—August 16, Nicholson, Canterbury, and Baylis, Whitstable, Kent, coal merchants.—August 16, E. and J. F. Bennett, Canterbury, wine merchants.—August 16, Bloodworth, Loughborough, Leicestershire, miller.—Oct. 5, Sadler, Cheltenham, linen draper.

CERTIFICATES.—August 13.

Osborne, Great Barr, Staffordshire, maltster.—Marsden, Newcastle Emlyn, Carmarthenshire, banker.—March, formerly of Birmingham, but now of Pancras lane, London, metal dealer.—Homwood, Canterbury, baker.—Elwell, Wolverhampton, japanner.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Drake and Glover, Wakefield, Yorkshire, tobacco manufacturers.—Field and Rawson, Leicester.—Robinson and Blackburn, Bradford, woolstaplers.—Crook and Spooner, Gravesend, linen drapers.—Robinson and Co., Staffordshire, manufacturers of earthenware (so far as regards D. and J. Robinson).—Henry and Co., Manchester, Leeds, and Huddersfield, commission agents (so far as regards Todd).—J. and A. Stauiland, Kingston-upon-Hull, ship brokers.—Travis and Nunn, East Bergholt, Suffolk, surgeons.—Johnston and Saul, Manchester, stock brokers.—R. and E. Dierden, Newton-in-the-Willows, Lancashire, farmers.—T. and J. Acock, Cold Aston and Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, auctioneers.—Castle and Grayling, Sittingbourne, Kent, surgeons.—W. and J. B. Hudson, Manchester, calico manufacturers.—W. S. and H. Birch, Old-field road, Lancashire, grocers.—Benyon and Williams, Birmingham, gilt toy makers, and Tunstall and Roberts, Birmingham, general dealers.—Spurrier and Simpson, Southampton, saddlers.—Milne and Co., Shaw and Lidlsey Brook, Lancashire, cotton spinners (so far as regards Hoyle).—Sanguinetti and Spyer, Kingston, Jamaica.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GORDON or SMITH, Mrs. HELEN, late of Stockbridge, near Edinburgh, July 30, August 20.

LAING, ROBERT, and BOAG, NEIL, Johnstone, Renfrewshire, cotton spinners, July 27, August 17.

M'GLASHAN, JOHN FREEMAN, Glasgow, flax merchant, July 30, August 20.

M'INTOSH, JOHN, and TAYLOR, JAMES, Glasgow, water-proof manufacturers, July 29, August 16.

M'KENZIE, JAMES, Edinburgh, jeweller, July 30, August 20.

Tuesday, July 27.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

ANTON, GEORGE, and GEORGE DUNCAN MITCHELL, Corn Exchange, Mark lane, corn factors.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HARLOW, JOHN, Macclesfield, ironmonger.

BANKRUPTS.

BRADLEY, JONAS, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, iron merchant, August 10, September 7: solicitors, Messrs. Walter and Pemberton, Symond's-inn, London, and Mr. Tolson, Bradford.

GRATRIX, JOHN, Preston, machine maker, August 17, September 7: solicitors, Messrs. Mayhew and Co., Cary street, Lincoln's-inn, London, and Messrs. Backhurst and Son, Preston.

HASKAYNE, WILLIAM, Liverpool, ship chandler, August 14, September 7: solicitors, Mr. Leigh, George street, Mansion house, London, and Mr. Leather, Liverpool.

HEAP, JOHN, jun., Manchester, merchant, August 10, September 7: solicitors, Messrs. Makinson and Sanders, Elm-court, Middle-temple, London, and Messrs. Atkinson, and Saunders, Manchester.

LLOYD, JOHN, and WILLIAM LLOYD, Atherstone, Warwickshire, cabinet makers, August 18, September 7: solicitors, Messrs. Hawkins and Co., New Boswell court, Carey street, London, and Messrs. Power and Pilgrim, Atherstone.

PATTERSON, JAMES, Cateaton street, London, warehouseman, August 3, September 7: solicitors, Messrs. Simpson and Cobb, Austin friars.

PORTER, THOMAS, Liverpool, egg merchant, August 14, September 7: solicitors, Mr. Cornthwaite, Dean's court, Doctor's-commons, London, and Mr. Cornthwaite, Liverpool.

SARSON, BENJAMIN, Birmingham, ironmaster, August 3, September 7: solicitors, Mr. Chaplin, Gray's Inn-square, London, and Mr. Richardson, Birmingham.

STANLEY, GEORGE, Southampton, bituminous pavement manufacturer, August 4, September 7: solicitor, Mr. Lambert, Raymond buildings, Gray's-inn.

WARDALL, MARY, Cary street, Lincoln's-inn, lodging-house keeper, August 3, September 7: solicitor, Mr. Webb, Cary street, Lincoln's-inn.

WHITE, WILLIAM, and THOMAS BROAD, Newport, Isle of Wight, wine and brandy merchants, August 9, September 7: solicitors, Mr. Dimmock, Sise lane, London, and Mr. Allan, Newport.

WOODS, JAMES, Roundhill, Lancashire, horse dealer, August 7, September 7: solicitors, Mr. Cragg, Harpur street, Red Lion square, London, and Mr. Robinson, Blackburn.

DIVIDENDS.

August 31, Amner, Lime street, London, merchant—August 18, Nicholls and Groves, Stamford, linen drapers—August 24, Price and Co., Yeovil, Somersetshire, linen drapers—August 20, Wilson, Leeds, timber merchant—August 18, Robinson, Tideswell, Derbyshire, corn factor—August 19, J. R. & E. Tayler, Masborough, Yorkshire, earthenware manufacturers—August 26, Eamer, Preston, Lancashire, hop merchant—August 23, M'Gregor, Chester, grocer—October 29, Daniell, formerly of Trefissick, Cornwall, and now or late residing at Boulogne, copper smelter.

CERTIFICATES—August 17.

Bell, Kingston-upon-Hull, seed crusher—Bryan, Cotton-end, Northamptonshire, shoe manufacturer—Riley, 161, Fleet street, and late of 10, Gough square, printer—Cusel, North buildings, Liverpool street, merchant—Munroe, late of Milk street, merchant—Long, Bulley, Gloucestershire, butcher—Skurray, Swindon, Wiltshire, ironmonger.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

A. and J. Rees and Gough, Newport, Monmouthshire, coal merchants (so far as regards A. Rees)—Barnby and Co., Kingston-upon-Hull, and Manchester, general shipping agents (so far as regards Horncastle)—Paige and Co., Howford buildings, London, ship and insurance brokers—Jeffcoat and Brunsell, Coventry, ribbon manufacturers—Morrison and Godfrey, Liverpool, merchants—Holmes and Staples, Bath—Whinham and Bedlington, Carlisle, booksellers—Rawson and Co., Manchester and Salford, Lancashire, merchants—Nicholas, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, widow, and Taylor, 68, New Bond street, Middlesex, tailor, rectifiers—Morison and Huttman, 15, Little Russell street, Covent garden, and 194, Strand, dealers in cigars—F. and J. Westley and Jarvis, Friar street, Doctors' Commons, London, bookbinders—Blumenthal and Jones, Birmingham, cigar merchants—Buckley, Windle, Lancashire, and Jones, Winsford, Cheshire, and both of Eccleston, Lancashire, engineers—Ward and Hatfield, 16, Piccadilly, Middlesex, tobacconists—T. and M. Hutchinson and Powell, Bread street, Cheapside, London, carpet warehousemen (so far as regards Powell)—Bindloss and Ash, Manchester, silk manufacturers—Cockle and Rootham, Willingham, Cambridgeshire, common brewers—P. and E. Welsh, Somerton, Somersetshire, grocers—Hurt and Stapleton, Irongate wharf, Paddington, Middlesex, wheelwrights—Blackie and Waldie, Manchester, general commission agents—W. and F. Guy, 44, Duke street, Westminster, fruiterers—Shuttleworth and Co., Rochdale, Lancashire, attorneys (so far as regards Shuttleworth)—Mossop and Forster, Whitehaven, Cumberland, wine and spirit merchants—Mercer and Co., Clitheroe, Lancashire, cotton spinners (so far as regards E. Mercer).

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HOPE, JAMES, Annan, common brewer, August 2, 23.
SIMSON, WALTER, Edinburgh, grocer, August 2, 23.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	89½	89½	89½	89½	90	90
Ditto for Account	89½	90	89½	89½	90½	90½
3 per cents. Reduced	90	90½	90½	90	90½	90½
3½ per cents. Reduced	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½
New 3½ per cent.	99	98½	98½	98½	99	98½
Long Annuities	13	13	13	13	13	13
Bank Stock	171½	171½	171½	170	170	171
India Stock	249	249	249½	249	—	249
Exchequer Bills	16 pm.	13 pm.	16 pm.	15 pm.	19 pm.	19 pm
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	4 pm.	6 pm.	4 pm.	—	9 pm.	9 pm

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	108½	Mexican	25½
Belgian	—	Peruvian	—
Brazilian	68	Portuguese 5 per cents	18½
Buenos Ayres	—	Ditto 3 per cents	18½
Columbian	20	Russian	114
Danish	78½	Spanish Active	20½
Dutch 2½ per cents	51½	Ditto Passive	4½
Ditto 5 per cents	101½	Ditto Deferred	10

SHARES.

Railways—		London and Brighton	42½
Birmingham and Derby	59	London and Croydon Trunk ..	13
Birmingham and Gloucester ..	60	London and Greenwich	7½
Blackwall	16	Ditto New	18
Bristol and Exeter	30	Manchester and Birmingham ..	24
Cheltenham and Gt. Western	22½	Manchester and Leeds	51
Eastern Counties	8	Midland Counties	86
Edinburgh and Glasgow	38	Ditto Quarter Shares	22
Great North of England	—	North Midland	67
Great Western	83	Ditto New	32
Ditto New	58½	South Eastern and Dover	19
Ditto Fifties	—	South Western	55
London and Birmingham	161	Ditto Tenth's	1½
Ditto Quarter Shares	24		

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, July 26.

We have been liberally supplied with English wheat last week and this morning, and have a considerable supply of foreign wheat. The weather during the whole of last week being cold, with much rain, caused an animated demand for wheat at advancing prices, and a very extensive business was transacted each market day; and the advance from Monday to Friday was 2s. per qr. on English, and 3s. to 5s. per qr. on foreign wheat in bond. The weather being fine to-day has caused the trade to be less brisk, and prices are about 1s. per qr. lower from Friday.

Flour sells freely, and ship flour is 2s. per sack dearer.

Barley, Beans, and peas meet a better sale, and at rather better prices.

The arrivals of oats are moderate, and the demand is good. We have had a free sale this morning, at an advance of 6d. per qr. since this day week.

	s.	d.		s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat, Red New	60	to 69	Malt, Ordinary..	50	.. 53	Beans, Old.....	38	to 40
Fine	63	.. 71	Pale	58	.. 60	Harrow	37	.. 39
White	64	.. 70	Peas, Hog	38	.. 41	Oats, Feed.....	22	.. 24
Fine	72	.. 78	Maple	41	.. 43	Fine	25	.. 29
Rye	34	.. 40	Boilers	36	.. 38	Poland	24	.. 28
Barley	27	.. 30	Beans, Ticks....	35	.. 36	Potato	23	.. 27
Malting	34	to 38						

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR JULY 19.	AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.
Wheat 64s. 11d.	Wheat 63s. 6d.	Wheat 23s. 8d.
Barley 32 6	Barley 31 5	Barley 15 4
Oats 22 4	Oats 22 1	Oats 13 9
Rye 35 2	Rye 34 11	Rye 18 3
Beans 39 5	Beans 38 6	Beans 12 6
Peas 44 8	Peas 40 6	Peas 9 6

PROVISIONS, LONDON, July 26.

There was not much done in butter last week, but prices were steady, and holders firm, especially for the finer kinds. The best brands of Waterford sold at 92s. on board; inferior, 88s. to 90s. Limerick, 85s. to 87s. on board; and Cork, 89s. Some sellers ask 1s. more, but the heavy stock and light delivery restrain buyers from operating freely.

Bacon is a slow trade, at 60s. to 63s. for small sizes, and 56s. to 60s. for heavy.

Hams are in bad demand at from 56s. to 66s.

HOPS, BOROUGH, July 26.

From East Kent, Mid. Kent, the Weald of Kent, Sussex, Farnham, Worcester, and in fact all the leading districts, very favourable accounts continue to be received respecting the state of the plantations. The vines are represented to wear a sound healthy look, and the burr begins to show itself promisingly; all this makes the market dull. The estimate of the duty is £160,000 to £165,000 for the whole country, and £20,000 for Worcester alone.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, July 26.

On account of the arrivals of beasts being considerably on the increase, and the weather unfavourable to slaughtering, the beef trade was exceedingly heavy, at a depression in the currencies noted on Monday last of 4d. per 8lbs.; the highest price obtained for the best Scots being 4s. 8d., and some portion of them were turned out unsold. We were very moderately supplied with sheep, whilst the sale for them was steady, at fully last week's quotation. Although the numbers of lambs on the market were small, the demand was heavy, at barely stationary prices. Calves were in fair supply, at previous rates. In pigs, scarcely anything doing.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	3s. 4d. to 4s. 8d.	Pork	4s. 0d. to 4s. 10d.
Mutton	3 4 .. 4 8	Lamb	5 0 .. 5 10
Veal	4 2 .. 5 0		

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	608	10,940	170	603
Monday	3,009	24,710	168	613

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, July 26.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior Beef	3s. 0d. to 3s. 2d.	Inferior Mutton	3s. 4d. to 3s. 8d.
Middling ditto	3 2 .. 3 4	Middling ditto	3 10 .. 4 4
Prime large ditto	4 4 .. 3 6	Prime ditto	4 6 .. 4 8
Prime small ditto	3 8 .. 3 10	Veal	4 0 .. 4 8
Large Pork	4 0 .. 4 6	Small Pork	4 8 .. 4 10
		Lamb, 5s. 0d. to 5s. 10d.	

WOOL, July 26.

Down Teggs	1s. 0d. to 1s. 1d.	Flannel Wool	0s. 9d. to 1s. 1d.
Half-bred Hogs	1 0 .. 1 0½	Blanket Wool	0 5 .. 0 8
Ewes and Wethers	0 9 .. 0 10	Skin, Combing	0 11 .. 1 0½

HAY, SMITHFIELD, July 26.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	80s. to 85s.	New Clover Hay	85s. to 105s.
New ditto	70 .. 88	Old ditto	100 .. 120
Useful ditto	86 .. 92	Oat Straw	40 .. 42
Fine Upland and Rye Grass ..	92 .. 96	Wheat Straw	43 .. 44

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, July 27.

TEA.—There were several parcels brought to public sale to-day, comprising 16,860 packages of 908,060 lbs. weight, 673,380 lbs. of which were black, and 234,680 lbs. green. There was but a thin muster of the trade, and but little disposition to purchase either black or green sorts. Prices, as contrasted with last Tuesday's sales, showed a reduction of ½d. per lb. on Congou, about 1d. on Twankay, 1d. to 2d. on Pouchong, and 1d. on other sorts. The sale proceeded till about two o'clock, when a report reached the sale room that the express in anticipation of the overland mail had arrived in town, and the sales were immediately adjourned till to-morrow, to give all parties an opportunity of ascertaining the position of our trade in China. In Company's Congou no sales of moment transpired, and the price was nearly nominal at 2s. 3½d. per lb. cash.

COFFEE.—There is no alteration in the value of West India coffee; there are few parcels offering and very little business has been done, which has, however, supported previous prices.

SUGAR.—To-day the demand was less active for West India from both grocers and refiners, but holders were firm, and obtained full rates for all sorts; at public sale 100 hds. Barbadoes went at 62s. 6d. to 70s. for middling to fine yellow, being the full value; 51 hds. 86 tierces, 58 barrels St. Lucia were sold, low to good yellow at 59s. to 65s. per cwt. The total sales are 700 hds. and tierces.

TALLOW.—The demand for Russian Tallow continues quiet, and prices little better than nominal at 47s. to 47s. 3d. on the spot, and 47s. 6d. for delivery late in the year.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

EASE AND COMFORT FOR TENDER FEET.

HALL AND CO., Wellington-street, Strand, London, Sole Patentees of the PANNUS CORIUM, or LEATHER CLOTH BOOTS and SHOES for Ladies and Gentlemen. These articles have borne the test and received the approbation of all who have worn them. Such as are troubled with corns, bunions, gout, chilblains, or tenderness of feet from any other cause, will find them the softest and most comfortable ever invented: they never draw the feet or get hard, qualities which strongly recommend them to Merchants and Shippers for warm climates, where they are found easier and more durable than any other kind of shoes: they resemble the finest leather, and are cleaned with common blacking.

The material sold by the yard in any quantity.

Also the much-improved Patent India-Rubber Goshes are light, durable, and perfectly waterproof: they protect the feet from damp and cold.

Hall and Co.'s Portable Waterproof Dresses claim the attention of all who are exposed to the wet. Ladies' Cardinal Cloaks with hoods, from 18s. Gentlemen's Dresses, comprising Cape, Overalls, and Hood, 21s.; the whole can be carried with convenience in the pocket.

N.B. The Shoes or Goshes can be fitted by sending a shoe, and the waterproof dresses by the height of the figure.

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calf, sprinkled,	5 6
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Elegantly bound in morocco	5 0
CROWN 32MO.	
Strongly bound in coloured roan, and stamped ..	1 1
PEARL, MEDIUM 48MO.	
Strongly bound in coloured roan	1 0
embossed roan, gilt edges ..	2 0
This very neat book, well adapted for rewards, is sold to schools, &c., in quantities, at a very liberal discount.	

J. HADDON, Castle Street, Finsbury.
J. H. solicits a comparison of the above with any list before the public, either as to accuracy of printing or strength in the binding; while the prices are in some instances full 20 per cent lower.

CORN LAWS. NATIONAL CONFERENCE

of Ministers of all Religious Denominations on the Subject of the Laws restricting the Food of the Community; to be held in Manchester, commencing Tuesday, August 17, 1841.

PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

Circular.

Issued to the Ministers of Religion in Manchester and its vicinity.

15, Lever Street, July 8th, 1841.

Dear Sir,—The present communication has its origin in the deliberation of a few friends who, being deeply interested in the physical and moral condition of the poor, and in the general welfare of our country, have come together to consider what is our duty at the present crisis.

The aspect of public affairs, at this juncture, is fearfully ominous of collision and animosity between the different classes of the community, and seems to demand the prayerful interposition and co-operation of all who desire the peace of our population and the prosperity of the empire.

Our consultations have brought us to the unanimous conclusion, that the attention of the religious public should be immediately directed—

To the effects of the monopoly in food;

To the principles upon which the law of that monopoly is based; and

To the most legitimate and Christian means of obtaining an equitable settlement of the question, without civil convulsion, and without injury to the just interests of any class of our fellow citizens.

We are fully persuaded that these inquiries may be most beneficially prosecuted in a free and friendly conference of ministers of religion, from all parts of the United Kingdom; and that such a convention might, under the blessing of God, exercise a salutary and decisive influence.

With these views, we respectfully and urgently solicit your co-operation and direction in regard to such a movement; and shall feel obliged by your attendance at a meeting of the ministers of this town and neighbourhood, to be held in the Boroughreeve's Room, Town Hall, King Street, Manchester, on Monday morning next, the 12th instant, at eleven o'clock precisely.

I am, dear sir, yours respectfully,

GEO. THOMPSON.

The meeting, convened as above, was attended by twenty-eight ministers. The origin and object of the meeting having been briefly explained, a full discussion of the subject took place, at the conclusion of which the following resolution was passed, with one dissentient:

Resolved,—That it is the opinion of this meeting that the conference contemplated in the circular, issued by Mr. George Thompson, is desirable; that measures be adopted to convene the ministers of religion, (who may be able to assemble), from all parts of the United Kingdom, to deliberate on the questions suggested for consideration; and that the convention be held in the week between the 15th and 22nd of August next.

A committee of nine gentlemen, with power to add to their number, was appointed to carry this resolution into effect. The following is their

ADDRESS

TO THE MINISTERS OF ALL RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED KINGDOM:

Gentlemen,—Receive the present address as from friends of the suffering poor, and the lovers of peace and righteousness.

We are surrounded by scenes of want and misery, over which our hearts have long mourned with the power of affording little beyond the consolation of mere words.

We are brought to the conclusion that it is our duty, and the duty of all who fill the sacred office of ministers of Religion, to look into the causes of our national distress.

The conviction has been forced upon our own minds, that the sufferings we deplore, and the calamities we would avert, may be traced, in a great degree, to the operation of the laws which produce a scarcity of the necessities of life, by circumscribing the bounties of Divine Providence.

But we need counsel and co-operation, that we may proceed wisely and efficiently. We therefore earnestly invite you to a free and friendly conference on the subject of the laws which restrict the supply of food to the people of this country, and the principles upon which such laws are based—to the end that we may agree upon the adoption of some christian and constitutional measures, for the removal of the ascertained causes of the increasing poverty and impending ruin of large classes of our fellow-citizens.

Conferences on debateable and difficult subjects have

already been productive of the best results, whether for conviction in the minds of inquirers, or for constraining unwilling parties to fulfil the demands of justice. Antislavery conventions, in recent times, produced effects which warrant our hope as rational and well-founded that this conference will become influential and decisive.

We think we may be permitted to say, that to no body of men ought such momentous questions to be submitted with a better prospect of a calm, an enlightened, and an honest solution, than to that body which we desire to convene—a body composed of men who, while deeply sympathising in the wants and woes of the poor, profess to respect the just rights of all, and to be guided equally by the feelings of a disinterested benevolence and the dictates of an uncompromising morality. We cannot doubt that the decisions of such a body would exercise a benign and beneficial influence over the nation at large.

We feel persuaded that we need employ no arguments to prove that the cause in which we would enlist your individual and combined exertions is associated with all the nearest and dearest interests of those to whose welfare you are devoted, or that the ends of morality and pure religion would be much promoted by the alleviation of the existing, wide-spread wretchedness. But one thing is certain; we shall be fulfilling the behests of that religion whose ministers we are, by demonstrating our desire and determination to do what we can, for the physical as well as the spiritual benefit of our fellow-men.

Accept, then, our invitation, and unite with us in an effort for the common weal and general safety. For a while let us lay aside our sectarian and partisan differences, and, on the hallowed ground of christian charity, assemble for the purpose of bettering the condition of famishing multitudes.

As the friends of humanity, let us plead the cause of the poor.

As the exponents and defenders of the principles of immutable justice, let us protest against laws, under whatever form, which deny to our necessitous fellow-countrymen a share in the bounties which the Creator has provided for the wants of all his creatures.

As the ministers of religion, let us remove, if it be possible, the causes which are engendering a frightful amount of immorality and impiety.

As patriots, burning with a love of country, let us make an effort to put away the occasions of disaffection and animosity, and to restore peace and harmony to a now unhappily distracted people; and may the blessing of God rest upon our meeting!

Not only are those invited whose minds are made up, but those, also, who have conscientious difficulties which may possibly be removed by candid and full discussion.

Every effort will be made to provide hospitable accommodation for accredited individuals attending the Conference.

Those who intend to accept this invitation are requested to take counsel of their congregations, how they may best facilitate the objects of the Conference, and provide funds necessary for the journey.

The Conference will commence its sittings on the morning of Tuesday, the 17th of August, at ten o'clock, at the Town Hall, Manchester.

Communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, 15, Lever Street, Manchester.

On behalf of the Committee,
GEO. THOMPSON, Hon. Sec.
Manchester, July 13, 1841.

PRACTICAL EXPOSITIONS,

Edited by the

Rev. JAMES SHERMAN, Surrey Chapel.

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"We consider the Christian church, and more especially Christian ministers and students preparing for the ministry, under deep obligations to the Rev. James Sherman, for the republication of those valuable expository works, which were bequeathed to posterity by the puritan divines."—E. Henderson, D.D. Theological Tutor.—Robert Halley, D.D.

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TESTIMONIAL TO MR. BAINES.

AT a PUBLIC BREAKFAST given to Mr. WILLIAM BAINES, at the Bell Hotel, Leicester, on Friday Morning, July 23d, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1st. Moved by the Rev. G. Legge, M.A., and seconded by the Rev. J. Webb—

"That this meeting approving, generally, of the principles which induced Mr. W. Baines to submit to the incarceration of his person; and rejoicing that he was enabled, during a period of eight months, to maintain a spirit and deportment every way worthy of them—now desires to present to him its congratulations on his honourable release from confinement, and earnestly hopes that his self-sacrifice and endurance will be found to have contributed somewhat to the destruction of those courts, which are at once the shame of christianity and the disgrace of our country."

2nd. Moved by Rev. J. E. Giles, and seconded by the Rev. H. Toller—

"That this meeting, while it retains all its convictions on the subject of church rates, and trusts that all peaceful and practicable means will continue to be adopted to prevent their imposition, in the first instance, and to promote their abolition, in the second; would direct attention to what it considers the master-grievance, the fountain head and cause of all those grievances that vex and outrage the dissenting community, and engender nothing but strife and confusion in the social state—the alliance of church and state; and would especially urge the Voluntary Church Society to give itself to the exposure of this, as at once an infringement of the prerogatives of Christ and the liberties of man."

3rd. Moved by Mr. Alderman Cripps, and seconded by Mr. Manning—

"That this meeting, fully sympathising with the Voluntary Church Society in the efforts it has heretofore made in the cause of civil and religious liberty, is of opinion that steps should be immediately taken to free it from the pecuniary embarrassments in which it regrets to learn it is involved; and that the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee to carry this resolution into effect—Mr. J. Sergeant, Mr. J. Cripps, Mr. J. Manning, Mr. J. Nunneley, Mr. H. Hull, and Rev. J. P. Mursell."

Nearly 150l. were contributed at the meeting. Mr. J. Childs, of Bungay, promised to raise 10l. in Suffolk; Mr. W. Cripps engaged to raise 10l. in Nottingham; and several other gentlemen, from neighbouring towns, kindly pledged themselves to similar exertions.

Subscriptions will be received by Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smiths, London, for the credit of Mr. Joseph Cripps, with Pares's Leicestershire Banking Company; and at the Nonconformist office.

LIBERTY, CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS.

AT a period like the present, when the kingdom is rent from east to west, from north to south, with fierce discussions and disputes on each and all of the above-mentioned points or topics, it were desirable (were it not so) above all things, to know that we have in the midst of us an authority capable of settling at once, and so putting a final end to, the angry and disgraceful divisions prevailing in all parts in reference to these public and most important questions. But as, from the time which has been already consumed in these truly unhappy dissensions, without any apparent progress towards their adjustment, it may savour, mayhap, too much of arrogance and presumption thus confidently to pronounce—it becomes necessary without delay to state, that this universal panacea is actually to be found in the labours of one whose name alone is a host; I mean "Mr. Locke," and the work itself—his "Letters for and concerning Toleration."

That his reputation as a man stands on an equal level with his name as a writer, the following extract from "The Pictorial History of England" affords an ample evidence. "Locke was a man of great moral worth, of the highest integrity, disinterested, just, tolerant, and humane, as well as of extraordinary penetration and capacity; moreover, he was probably as free from anything like self-conceit or the over-estimation of his own virtues, or his own talents, as people of good sense usually are; and he had undoubtedly a great respect for the Deity, as the first magistrate of the universe."—Book 9, ch. 5, p. 791. A testimony of no ordinary power and weight—yet such was the author of "The Letters for and concerning Toleration."

Although ancient, and by name well known, it is nevertheless asserted that their intrinsic merits (like unassayed ore, wherein the proportion of pure gold remains still unknown) have been greatly overlooked; and that they contain matter sufficient to set at rest the entire subject, meeting, nor less silencing in an instant every objection; whilst they lay down therein the plainest directions as to the duties of all, both individually and collectively; the whole placed in the clearest and most convincing light.

It is proposed then, to bring out, and that, as the act of a body, by subscription among themselves, these "Letters" in the form of Tracts, accompanied, moreover, with such notes or comments as, upon the closest and most careful research (the editorial labour being gratuitous), have suggested themselves; but which being of a firm and unflinching character, yet in perfect keeping with the text, can be countenanced and approved, advocated and maintained only by those who are persuaded of the urgent necessity (as regards the welfare of the people) of a speedy divorce or "separation" between "the church and the state"—the same being the obvious drift and design of Mr. Locke's (and was not he "a true patriot," as well as a most worthy "christian man?") "Letters for and concerning Toleration;" all which is as fearlessly and unhesitatingly affirmed by

THE EXPOSITOR.

Any Communication in furtherance of the above design may be addressed to Mr. James Humphrys, Wands-worth road.

Printed and Published at the Office, at No. 4, Crane Court, Fleet Street, near Fetter Lane, in the City of London, by JOHN HENRY DAVIS, of No. 76, York Road, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, on WEDNESDAY, 28th JULY, 1841.